



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Zaire

Opposition Member Elected Vice Chairman

AB2312194491 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 23 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been another blow for Zaire's President Mobutu from the National Conference that is meeting in Kinshasa. Earlier this month, the meeting elected the Catholic archbishop of Kisangani to be the Conference's chairman, soundly rejecting the candidate put up by President Mobutu's party, the MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution]. Now, once again, delegates have elected a vice chairman and once again, a key member of the opposition coalition, the Sacred Union, Joseph Ileo Amba, has trounced the senior member of the MPR. Bosongo Boyeme in Kinshasa telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] There was popular rejoicing in many parts of Kinshasa on Sunday [22 December] morning when people heard of the opposition victory. In Masina, people chanted slogans in praise of the opposition Sacred Union. Veteran politician, Mr. Joseph Ileo Amba, the 71-year old president of the Democratic Social Christian Party and member of the opposition Sacred Union, beat Mr. Banza Mukalay, vice president of President Mobutu's MPR, by 1256 votes to 1066 after a secret ballot which lasted nearly 12 hours.

Addressing the Conference shortly after his election victory, Mr. Ileo said the vote has been an example of democracy in action. He said the National Conference was an important organ which could and should bring about change in the country. He added that the sovereign National Conference should fully assume its responsibilities and exercise its prerogatives to bring about the changes the Zairian people were waiting for.

President Mobutu's candidate, Banza Mukalay, looking relaxed, gave in gracefully to the verdict. Smiling, he said, Mr. Ileo's election is a profound expression of the will of the Zairian people. The ballot box has spoken and I comply with the result. [end recording]

Government Deplores Administration 'Politicization'

AB1912115291 Paris AFP in French 1158 GMT
18 Dec 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 18 Dec (AFP)—In a communique issued in Kinshasa today after an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers, the Zairian Government deplored "the politicization of the public administration as a result of the active infiltration into the administration of political parties." The government, which reminded civil servants of the incompatibility between their statute and the engagement in political activities, also deplored the social climate composed "of tensions and strikes." The government expressed regret that strikes precede negotiation, "whereas it should be the opposite."

In conclusion, the Zairian Government "appealed to the conscience of all, drawing their attention to the strict respect for and the rigorous implementation of the legal provisions on strikes." "Whoever violates the laws of the Republic will clash with the government," the communique concluded.

The Council of Minister's meeting was chaired by Interior Minister Mandungu Bula Nyati who is replacing the prime minister currently on a mission to Europe.

New Opposition Political Alliance Created

AB2112144591 Dakar PANA in English 1140 GMT
20 Dec 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 20 Dec. (PANA)—The Alliance of Patriotic Forces, a political platform bringing together some 30 opposition parties, 10 civil associations, and personalities representing diverse opinion, officially came into being in Zaire on Thursday [19 December].

Adolphe Kishwe-Maya, president of a faction of the Union of Federalists and Independent Republicans (UFERI), is heading the coordination bureau of the Alliance considered as the third political force in the strife-torn Central African country.

Kishwe described the Alliance as a union of political forces committed to change and against any stance which is extremist and at odds with the wishes of the people, at a news conference in Kinshasa.

Prime Minister Nguza Visits Belgium

WA2312165491

For reportage on the visit by Zaire's Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond to Belgium, including reports on his talks with Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens, please see the Belgium section of the 23 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Further Reportage on Codesa, Evaluations**Viljoen on New Participants**

*MB2212052891 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] Several organizations have applied to join Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], and constitutional development minister, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, suggested the Management Committee look into guidelines and principles for admitting new participants.

[Begin Viljoen recording] We should avoid arriving at a negative decision, especially on such a real and a sensitive question as the need of the King of the Zulus representing his nation to be involved in constitutional negotiations with Codesa. [end recording]

Meetings With Leaders Proposed

*MB2212081591 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Excerpts] Several organizations have applied to join Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and Constitutional Development Minister Dr. Gerrit Viljoen suggested the management committee look into guidelines and principles for admitting new participants. [passage omitted]

The military leader of Transkei, Major General Bantu Holomisa, referred to the danger of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] becoming unwieldy if too many groups were admitted. He suggested that a task group be formed.

[Begin Holomisa recording] Transkei has the honor to move that a task group be formed by Codesa to travel around the country meeting with traditional leaders, look into their interests and endeavor to forge unity among them, so that they ventilate their aspirations in fruitful unity rather than as disparate groups. [end recording]

PAC Criticizes Codesa Results

*MB2312143291 Johannesburg SABA in English
1221 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[SAPA PR Wire Service: "Codesa Cannot Deliver" issued by Pan Africanist Congress (P.A.C.) of Azania on 23 December]

[Text] The racist regime of De Klerk has given clear notice at the Codesa conference this weekend that the oppressed will have to wait up to 10 years or more for a "democratic constitution" to be enacted.

Distilling the bare facts from the double speak about democracy that gushed so liberally from the assembled bantustan leaders, the illegal regime and the congress alliance, the following propositions emerge:

(A) The regime propose an interim government emanating from a revamped racist parliament which will include a fourth chamber representing blacks. In terms of the racist constitution, the white chamber will have a veto over the deliberations of other chambers because it would have the last say in terms of the "own affairs" rule by which the white chamber can veto laws which impinges on "white affairs."

(B) The racist parliament, controlled by the regime, will fashion the new constitution.

(C) The constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one person one vote in a unitary state has been rejected by the regime because minority rights (read white privilege) will not be protected.

(D) The deliberations of Codesa will be on the basis of "sufficient consensus" and if the regime were not in agreement there would be no "sufficient consensus" thus giving them a veto over Codesa decisions. Codesa decisions will have no legal effect unless the racist parliament approves. In addition where a bantustan resist reincorporation there would be no "sufficient consensus" and Codesa will be deadlocked.

(E) Any changes i.e. the establishment of an interim government, will only take effect after a referendum conducted on racial lines.

According to the CAPE TIMES (23/12/01) "ANC [African National Congress] constitutional experts and Mr. Mandela himself hinted at the weekend that there could be no room for compromise over Mr. de Klerk's latest proposal that 'a fully representative and constitutionally grounded' parliament be charged with the task of shaping the final constitution instead of an elected constituent assembly".

The deputy president of the P.A.C., Mr. Dikgang Maseneke correctly summed up the position of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, when he recently wrote:

"The way forward for our liberation movement is to refuse to give legitimacy to a forum which is designed to frustrate our legitimate goals of liberation. We must consolidate the ranks of the oppressed through the patriotic front.

"We must resist short term quick solutions in favour of a genuine process directed at creating a true democracy and capable of advancing the quest for liberation. The P.A.C. is prepared to engage all interested parties, including the regime, in order to reach agreements on the modalities of a constituent assembly [C.A.].

"We are not prepared to be locked in a process, such as Codesa which cannot deliver a C.A., and more significantly, which is designed to frustrate the legitimate goals of the liberation struggle." This weekend's proceedings at Codesa have confirmed our worst fears. [Signed] Barney Desai P.A.C. secretary for publicity and information

PAC General Secretary Interviewed

*MB2312154691 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] believes that Codesa is unlikely to produce a democratically elected constituent assembly. The PAC General Secretary Benny Alexander on the line to Robert Michiel.

[Begin recording] [Alexander] Well, we knew from the beginning that the meeting was not going to decide on any substantive matter. It is purely ceremonial and it is purely preparatory. So there was nothing substantive from the meeting and I don't think it was the intention of the meeting to come up with anything substantive. The meeting to which we can react is the Codesa Two. One of the things that did come out very clearly to us in the PAC, is that Codesa is unable to deliver a democratically elected constituent assembly and it is against that background that we would have to judge the value of Codesa.

[Michiel] Does this, in other words, mean that in the light of Codesa, what we've seen over the weekend, the PAC would not reconsider joining the process?

[Alexander] Well, we are prepared to talk to the South African Government according to our congress resolution, in a neutral venue outside of this country, on the modalities of establishing a constituent assembly. We can do that even outside of Codesa, it doesn't matter. But what is really important is that Codesa, from its composition and the orientation of the majority of its participants, and also taking into consideration the statements made at Codesa, we can safely conclude that Codesa is not likely to produce a democratically elected constituent assembly. [end recording]

CP Spokesman On Party 'Split'

*MB2312171791 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Telephone interview with Conservative Party spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis by reporter Colin Houston; place and date not given; from the "Africa South" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The official opposition party, the Conservative Party [CP] in the South African Parliament, refused to take part in the Codesa talks last week. Spokesman for the party, Mr. Clive Derby-Lewis, said the party viewed Codesa as irrelevant and did not wish to be part of it. Meanwhile, it has been reported that a split exists in the party with a lot of uneasiness over the issue of Codesa. Conservative Party spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis on the line to Colin Houston:

[Derby-Lewis] Well there's no doubt in my mind that the people who support the Conservative Party are solidly behind us in our approach as far as not being present at Codesa is concerned, for a very simple reason, Codesa

has now very clearly made its intentions obvious to everyone. It is aimed at devising a constitutional system in a unitary state in South Africa. Supporters of the Conservative Party do not accept the concept of a unitary state. They support us because they believe in the sovereignty of nations and therefore see partition as the only way to peace in South Africa.

[Houston] Could there be another form of partition in the form of a federation?

[Derby-Lewis] A federation being a system which has an overall controlling body is not a satisfactory method of partition because the sovereignty of the participating bodies then becomes subject to the control of an overall federal umbrella. We believe that partition with a confederal system, along the exact same lines as is the situation in Europe, and which is now developing in Eastern Europe and even in the Soviet Union to a far greater extent we believe that that is the preferable way of achieving sovereignty in South Africa.

[Houston] Yet the morning newspaper here says that there may a split over Codesa and that a top CP spokesman or person has said that there are two schools of thought about this now.

[Derby-Lewis] Yes, you know, first of all, when it comes to the top spokesman I always doubt the existence of such top spokesmen when no names are attached to the words. It's very easy to suck top spokesmen's words out of thumbs. The RAPPORT newspaper is very good at that. But as far as a split is concerned, you know that the National Party's tactic to try and sow doubt amongst the Conservative elements in this country has been aimed at insinuating that there is a split now for a number of years.

[Houston] But now, in addition to that thinking, is there not a good argument for the CP to be at Codesa because you are the official opposition party in Parliament?

[Derby-Lewis] Yes, you know we've seen how these things worked in the past. We're the official opposition in Parliament where we see the National Party Government. No matter how sensible our amendments to legislation may be, it is brushed on one side using the majority.

CP Leader: Codesa 'Travesty of Democracy'

*MB2412051291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2006 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 23 SAPA—The Convention for a Democratic South Africa was a travesty of democracy and was attended by "too many non-democrats", Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Andries Treurnich said in a statement on Monday [23 December] evening. He said Codesa was "heavily weighted towards the African National Congress [ANC]"—and that the convention's invitation to the CP to put its case for Afrikaner autonomy "was a ploy to give the process legitimacy in

the face of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu's refusal to sign" the declaration of intent.

According to Dr Treurnicht's analysis, there were "four Xhosa delegations at Codesa—the Transkei, Ciskei, the ANC and the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP]; four Indian signatories representing 25 per cent of the total attendant delegations; and three white delegations, two from the National Party and one from the Democratic Party, representing less than 50 per cent of the white population".

He said three of the homeland leaders who signed the Declaration of Intent—Venda, the Ciskei and Transkei—were governed "by men whose takeover of power was by military coup and all of them favour the ANC".

"Neither the ANC nor the SACP moreover, are democratically elected representatives of anyone," Dr Treurnicht noted. He also said that only one signatory from the tricameral parliament, Solidarity, could claim to represent the majority in its chamber, the Indian House of Delegates. "Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the Rev (Allan) Hendrickse's Labour Party will be the majority party in the House of Representatives in the new session of parliament."

Dr Treurnicht claimed that those who had refused to sign were the "real political heavyweights against the Codesa melting pot because they reject an ANC-ruled unitary South Africa".

"Bophuthatswana, the third most efficient economy in Africa, and KwaZulu, the most populous nation in South Africa, refused to sign. The conservative alliance containing the Conservative Party and scores of other organisations, political parties and trade unions, stated their resistance to Codesa."

Dr Treurnicht said Codesa therefore was "a travesty of democracy".

"There were too many non-democrats at Codesa to create a democratic South Africa."

He then attacked "Mr Nelson Mandela's contemptuous denigration of the state president before the world".

"Mr de Klerk's rejoinder against the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK] is odd in the light of revelations that MK and the SA Police jointly handled the security at Codesa, with government approval."

Dr Treurnicht warned that the government was trapped on a treadmill—and unless there was an election where whites could constitutionally remove the government, 1992 would be a year of conflict and confusion. "The only certainty will be a unity between English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites never before seen in South Africa, as they stand together to defend everything their forefathers worked so hard to build."

HNP Urges Afrikaner Congress

*MB2312141591 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1100 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party—HNP], Mr. Jaap Marais, says that the activities of Codesa call for an urgent congress of the Afrikaner nation. He said in a statement that all organizations which were against Codesa should join forces to save South Africa from what he termed chaos. Mr. Marais said that consideration of a referendum next year and the need for right-wing solidarity had become important. He said that everything possible should be done to stop the government because the success of the process could change the situation drastically.

Opposition Urges Exclusion of Mangope

*MB2312161891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1556 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[By Johnny Masilela]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 23 SAPA—Pressure continues to mount on Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope's bona fides at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa]. On Monday [23 December] leader of the territory's banned People's Progressive Party (PPP) and ANC [African National Congress] executive member, Rocky Malebane-Metsing, said his party and others in the homeland were pressing for Codesa to exclude Mr Mangope from future deliberations.

"We demand that the people in that part of South Africa be represented at Codesa by their rightful leaders," Mr Malebane-Metsing said. He said he would use his influence in the ANC to pressure Codesa to replace Mr Mangope's administration with the PPP, which he said would sign the declaration of intent which the homeland delegation refused to sign. "(Mr) Mangope rather refused to sign the declaration solely on his behalf," Mr Malebane-Metsing said.

He said the latter was the reason why Mr Mangope kept on referring to "I" when answering questions at a news briefing at the weekend. Asked why he refused to hold a referendum at the news conference, Mr Mangope reportedly replied: "Because I don't have to".

Mr Malebane-Metsing also called on the Bophuthatswana Government to release certain people detained in Mmabatho at the weekend, among them deported Mafikeng Anti-Repression official Mr Paul Daphne.

Five Delegates Interviewed

MB2412051591 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1815 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Interview with National Party's Dawie de Villiers, African National Congress' Cyril Ramaphosa, Inkatha Freedom Party's Frank Mdlalose, Bophuthatswana government official Rowan Cronje, and KaNgwane Chief Minister M. C. Zitha by reporter Pkwane Mashilwane in the South African Broadcasting Corporation studio at Kempton Park, Johannesburg, on 21 December after the Convention for a Democratic South Africa; from the "Agenda" program—recorded]

[Text] [Begin video recording] [Mashilwane] Let me start with you, Dr. Dawie de Villiers. Are you satisfied up to now that we are on course toward a democratic South Africa, so to say?

[De Villiers] Good evening, thank you. Yes, I'm satisfied. Let me first of all say the National Party has never doubted the fact that we are on the way to a new democratic South Africa, that the process is irreversible, and what we have done over the last two years really was to prepare a way for real hard negotiations. Now we have removed many stumbling blocks, we got the parties together, and I think Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] underlined, reiterated the fact that now, really, that process is irreversible.

[Mashilwane] Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, Codesa, which is regarded as a convention for a democratic South Africa, have we been democratic over the weekend?

[Ramaphosa] Well, I think we've been even more than democratic. A few months ago, the ANC [African National Congress] said that the holding of this convention would be the best Christmas present for our entire nation, and I'm able to say now that if every South African on Christmas Eve or Christmas morning looks just below their Christmas trees, they will see a little box written Codesa. Codesa has managed in our view to raise the integrity, the importance and the prestige of the negotiation process in our country, and we are now firmly within the negotiation process. We are not reversing on that one, and obviously our sights are now on the ultimate goal which is to ~~cover~~ a truly democratic constitution in our country.

[Mashilwane] And you, Dr. Mdlalose, I guess the weekend was democratic although without intention, because you didn't sign the intent.

[Mdlalose] Well, I think it was democratic in the sense that we all spoke about it all and expressed our ideas very freely about it, and those of us that had worries about signing, were also allowed to express our anxieties about that. In that sense it was democratic.

[Mashilwane, interrupting] Because time is so tight, let me stick with you for a while. Why, can you tell our viewers why you didn't sign the declaration of intent?

[Mdlalose] Yes, we expressed it yesterday in public and I think that was also recorded all over. In essence, there are two main things. One, before we signed we wanted to be quite sure that there will be enough room for us to form either a complete union of South Africa or to form regional structures within South Africa. We are not so sure of that, and we think regional structures in South Africa are very important, they are essential. We believe that that has got to be protected. We are not so sure that as it is, that is protected. That's the first thing.

The second thing that we are worrying about in the main was that there's a clause which says when we sign this we bind ourselves to any decisions that may then come out of that.

[Mashilwane, interrupting] Won't it be loose if they are in the declaration?

[Mdlalose] I won't say loose, but we want it to be accommodative in the declaration.

[Mashilwane] Mr. Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana, also came out hesitant regarding the signing of the Declaration of Intent. Why, Sir?

[Cronje] I don't think we were hesitant at all. I think our position is a little bit different to the other states in the sense that in South African and Bophuthatswana constitutional law, we are independent. The other three states, have, it appears, committed themselves to return to South Africa. We have made it quite clear that from our 14 years of experience in government and from the things that we have achieved, we believe that we can make a constructive contribution towards a future in South Africa, and that we would like to participate to make that experience part of the process.

[Mashilwane] But the underlying aim of Codesa, if I understand it correctly, is to overhaul, if not altogether to get rid of the South African Constitution in its present form, and you are a product of the old Constitution that Codesa wants to get rid of, if not overhaul. Why now not get reformed also?

[Cronje] If you look at the statement which the president made, I think the point that you raise is debatable, very strongly debatable and we do not have the time for me to do that, but we, for the same reason as the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], feel that at the end of the process when we can compare the new South Africa that we have, we will consult our people on what their wishes are because, in the end, it is their wishes and not ours, that's point one. Secondly, the Declaration of Intent at the end says that we will be bound for the implementation of certain respects, in respect of the decisions that have been taken, and we say we have no problem to be bound by the decisions of Codesa, except as far as it affects the status and the existence of any of the groups, including the Bophuthatswana government. The decision cannot be Codesa's, it must be ours.

[Mashilwane] Okay, let's get the viewpoint of KaNgwane, representing the so-called, in the old language, homelands. Mr. Zitha, where do you and your government stand and your movement, 'nyandza? Are we going for federal concept?

[Zitha] Inyandza National Movement feels that at this stage and at this point in time we are reaching a stage of negotiations. We cannot take a rigid stand. We are looking forward to find the best...

[Mashilwane, interrupts] Let me speak to you, Mr. Zitha, your colleagues in the homelands are feeling threatened with a new South Africa materializing almost. They feel that we must rather take and opt for federal system as a concept. Would you love to go for federalism? Would you like to see KaNgwane developing into a political region?

[Zitha] Not KaNgwane as such. We would look at the economic and the socio-development interest of the people in that region, as a region, but not to say that we are. Already we have taken stands in as far as regional government is concerned....

[Mashilwane, interrupting] Okay, let me put in. Making a cross section of the deliberation, I gained the impression that there is a desire to go for federal system in this country, and I listened with interest to the deliberations by IFP, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and even certain elements in the speech by South Africa, I gained that impression that we must be heading for the federal system, and I know the ANC should be against the concept. Why, Mr. Ramaphosa?

[Ramaphosa] We believe that South Africa should be a unitary state. South Africa from even the times of union emerged as a union, as a unitary state. It is a country which we believe cannot be subdivided and fragmented into little entities. We are one economic unit, and one economic unit means that we can easily find our nationhood in a unitary state, and I would say with regard to the proposals that are coming for federalism, I think it's good those proposals are coming up. The negotiation process is still in its formative stages. We are pleased that people are putting them on the table. In the course of negotiations and debate you will find that in the end we find each other and when arguments are sharpened against each party's position, you'll find that people will see that there is actually merit in retaining the South Africa that we yearn for as one unitary state.

[Mashilwane] Okay, a new concept now, interim government, let me start with you, Dr. De Villiers. Interim government, what's the feeling of the government about interim government? Should it be appointed? Should it be elected?

[De Villiers] Well, we have never been against interim arrangements or an interim government or a transitional government, call it what you like. But what we have objected against is proposals or suggestions that the present constitution could be pushed aside and an

interim, transitional government put in its place. We, as I've said earlier on, are committed to a new democratic, sustainable South Africa.

[Mashilwane] But should it be appointed?

[De Villiers] No, it should be...

[Mashilwane, interrupts] ...elected?

[De Villiers, continues] It should be according to the Constitution. That is the main point. We must not try and circumvent the Constitution. If you tear up the Constitution once, the danger will always be there that you can circumvent it at another occasion. So we say very simply: We are for interim arrangements, interim government, but that should be brought about in a constitutional manner, that is, after negotiations at Codesa, passed through the proper channels to make it...[changes thought] to enact it.

[Mashilwane] Let me give Dr. Mdlalose a chance first, to react to this. The interim government...[changes thought] the government, the ANC also, they've suggested an interim government, but how it's going to be brought about, it's not clear. What are your feelings?

[Mdlalose] First, in terms of what Mr. de Klerk, the state president said yesterday, it was something that was new, sort of, not very much clear, and I think we'll need to study that further. What does he mean really? And in terms of the concept itself, we feel that there has to be an arrangement of some sort that has got to bridge us from here onto the new constitution, but we would not like to get something that is, you know, an interim government that will take time that is not scheduled, go on for ever and ever. We don't know. It might be for one year, 10 years, 20 years. We just cannot accept that. We would rather stick with the Constitution that there is now and jump onto the new constitution only then.

[Mashilwane] Of course it's the national states' feeling. Would you like to come up on this one, on the interim government?

[Zitha] Yes, we do encourage the interim government. In view of the ongoing problems in the country, violence...

[Mashilwane, interrupts] How should it come about? Should it be elected?

[Zitha] The thing is under discussion, the mechanism of how the interim government has to come about. It is still a matter to be discussed by Codesa, but we do feel that the interim should not disrupt the order which is there at the moment.

[Mashilwane] The ANC viewpoint?

[Ramaphosa] Well I think one, in a way, welcomes the shift that one perceives in the National Party position on this matter. But then again the National Party is doing it in a convoluted manner, because the proposal as it stands would seem to suggest that we should participate

in a glorified tricameral type of parliament, and we would obviously be opposed to that. What the National Party or the government are doing is to collapse the two proposals that the ANC has put forward, the interim government and the constituent assembly one, into one and argue that we should have an elected interim government which will, amongst other things, draft the constitution. Now we believe that you've got to separate the two because your interim government should be installed specifically to manage the transition...

[Mashilwane, interrupts] In other words you are saying...

[Ramaphosa, continues] And the constitution-making body should be there to draft the constitution.

[Mashilwane] In other words, you say we must go for elections for constituent assembly and appoint interim government?

[Ramaphosa] What we are saying is that elections must be held for a constituent assembly and we believe that our people would like nothing better than to see elections, the first elections in 1992, for a constituent assembly.

[Mashilwane] I think it will be just quite proper for you to react to this one. ?

[De Villiers] Yes, the argument about a constituent assembly has been debated on numerous occasions. I don't want to elaborate. Let me just say, the one main objective, and there are many others, but the one main objection the National Party has against such a constituent assembly is that we feel very strongly that in a new democracy there must...[changes thought] and a new democratic structure, a new democratic South Africa, there must be sufficient protection for minorities and unless we have that, checks and balances, in the constitution it is not going to work. And now, to charge a body of whose composition you don't even know how it will come about with the sole task and responsibility to do that is unacceptable. We stand for a process of negotiation.

[Mashilwane] Okay, let us put Mr. Cronje comfortably in the discussion by introducing yet another dimension to the discussion, and that is, the reincorporation of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states back to South Africa. Is Bophuthatswana ready?

[Cronje] Ready for what?

[Mashilwane] For reincorporation.

[Cronje] No sir. Our position is very clear. If you for instance, as some suggest, put the issue to a referendum to your people, our viewpoint is that if you give people a choice, as is normal in a referendum, it is between two known factors. We are saying that we've achieved a record which is about third in Africa today in development and economic growth. Our people know us. We are very enthusiastic about the processes in South Africa. We are looking forward to see what the new South Africa

will look like and once the main principles and major aspects of the new South Africa have been determined, there are two clear and known factors which the people will decide upon and they will then decide.

[Mashilwane] I thought your president was a bit autocratic by refusing a notion of referendum towards reincorporation of Bophuthatswana.

[Cronje] May I say to you that since independence of '77 we've had three elections. Another one will take place in August next year at which people will have the choice between the present government, or the present governing party, and an opposition which stood on the platform of reincorporation. So in a sense it could be regarded as such. We are not opposed to a referendum. We only say that when people choose they must choose between two things which are known. They will have the opportunity and they will make the decision.

[Mashilwane] Gentlemen, the reincorporation of TBVC states is going to affect the whole South Africa. So I would like you gentlemen to react to it. But let me start with you, Cyril.

[Ramaphosa] Well, let me first react to what Dr. de Villiers said with regards to the protection of minority rights. I mean, we believe that protection of the individual should be properly placed in a bill of rights. In a bill of rights those people who may belong to minority groups will find adequate protection for their interests, for their culture, for their language and everything else. Now regarding the question of the reincorporation of TBVC states, I should say and differ a bit from Mr. Rowan Cronje and say that he will be pleased to know that the majority of people in Bophuthatswana actually see themselves as South Africans and they would love nothing more than to see Bophuthatswana being reincorporated into South Africa. It would have been a lot more helpful if Bophuthatswana had taken the same approach that has been adopted by Venda and Ciskei as well as the Transkei.

[Mashilwane] Let's get to the viewpoint of the government. What will be the position of the government regarding reincorporation?

[De Villiers] It will have to be done with their approval. In other words, they will have to be part of the decision. As far as we are concerned they are independent states in terms of the laws of this land and we would like to respect that.

[Mashilwane] All right we are now tapering to a point. Let me end on you Mr. Zitha. What is then going to be the feeling of the Inyandza, your party, and what are you looking forward to from here?

[Zitha] From here we are looking forward to the end of the present self-governing states, the present homelands, to a democratic structure which would be representing...

[Mashilwane, interrupts] But the leaders of these territories don't suggest the repeal of the act that gave these people self-governing status. When are you going to suggest that?

[Zitha] Our pronouncements are very well known in as far as our desire is concerned, to end the homelands, but...

[Mashilwane, interrupts] But? When are you going to suggest the repeal of the act that gave you status?

[Zitha] The repeal of the act will have to be replaced by the new arrangement.

[Mashilwane] Okay, let me just go to Mr. Mdlalose...

[Cronje] May I just say something?

[Mashilwane] I'm unfortunately running out of time. Mr. Mdlalose your concluding thought. Where do we go from here?

[Mdlalose] I think Codesa has been a very good starting point. What we are after now is that various parties that are taking part must keep contacting one another. They must keep the spirit of talking. They must have tolerance, one to the other, hear one another's views. I think that is very important. And from now onwards there will be a lot of (?attempts) to address the violence from here.

[Mashilwane] Cyril?

[Ramaphosa] Well, I think you see, through Codesa we are going to address the question of the creation of a climate for free political participation, and through that we have to address the whole question of violence as it continues to engulf our country, and we hope that through the negotiation process, which has been started and which is unstoppable we are going to get to grips, not only with the question of violence but with how we create a climate through which all our people as South Africans can participate in this new process that has been unleashed by Codesa.

[Mashilwane] Gentlemen, thanks very much for your time and participation in our program tonight.

Botha Confirms Visiting PRC Last Oct

*MB1912171291 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1600 GMT 19 Dec 91*

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, has acknowledged that South Africa and mainland China have been in contact.

He was reacting in Pretoria to reports from Beijing that the two countries will open unofficial representations in each other's countries. Mr. Botha confirmed that he visited China during his visit to the Far East in October this year. He said contact between South African and Chinese business interests and other private organizations had developed over a period of time.

There was now a need for the two governments to acknowledge the mutual benefit of the contact.

FAC Group Reportedly Attacked Police in Soweto

*MB2312203991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2024 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 23 SAPA—A man calling himself Karl Zimbiri has claimed responsibility for an attack on a police patrol vehicle in Soweto on Monday [23 December] night on behalf of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). APLA is the Pan Africanist Congress' (PAC) military wing. Mr Zimbiri, in a brief telephone call to SAPA, said the attack took place in Zola section of Soweto. He believed that three policemen died.

Soweto police spokesman Capt J Ngobeni confirmed one policeman died and another was seriously injured when they were attacked by unknown assailants at Zola near the Sakis petrol station.

Soweto's Regional Deputy Commissioner Sakkie Minnaar said in a statement: "Police will no longer tolerate these cowardly attacks on police".

Mr Zimbiri has in the past claimed responsibility for a number of attacks on policemen in the Soweto area.

Police Detain Three 'Hit Squad' Members

*MB2412104891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1009 GMT 24 Dec 91*

[Excerpt] Pretoria Dec 24 SAPA—The minister of law and order, Mr. Hernus Kriel, on Tuesday announced that police have detained three alleged members of a hit squad belonging to the PAC's Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA).

They are being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with handgrenade attacks on the Batho police station and on the municipal police in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, on October 14 this year.

Minister Kriel said the police also seized a cache of weapons comprising two AK47 rifles, four loaded AK-47 magazines, one Skorpion machine pistol, three loaded Skorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M26 grenades and one M75 grenade.

"The arrests were made after an APLA member was arrested by police in Zastron, the [Orange] Free State, on December 18, 1991. According to available information, he received military training in Tanzania.

"His arrest led to the detention of another two trained APLA members and to the seizure of the arms cache in Phahameng, Bloemfontein, on December 19, 1991," the minister said.

Saying terrorism and violence offered no solution to any of the country's problems, Mr Kriel pointed out that lasting peace and prosperity could also come about through negotiations and the establishment of a culture of tolerance and democracy.

"It is, therefore, now a matter of vital importance that all peace-loving South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or political affiliation, support the negotiation phase now under way in our country.

"The SA [South African] Police will also be doing their utmost to ensure that Christmas and new year can be celebrated in the spirit of peace and goodwill to all persons," he concluded. [passage omitted]

Police Investigating Right-Wing Link to Bombings

*MB2112162391 Johannesburg SABA in English
1613 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 21 SABA—The police have embarked on a wide-ranging investigation of possible far-rightist involvement in the recent spate of explosions in the Transvaal, reports SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news.

In the latest incident, a hotel was destroyed at Koster with damage estimated at at least R[and]100,000. An explosive device was detonated in a beer hall at the hotel.

Earlier this week, a technical college at Lichtenburg and a private school at Klerksdorp were damaged in blasts thought to have been caused by commercial explosives,

and yet another blast caused extensive damage to the Magistrate's Court at Sabie in the eastern Transvaal on Friday night.

The Pretoria branch office of the Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] trade union movement was also damaged in an explosion this week.

HNP Says Government To Blame

*MB2212060991 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Mr. Jaap Marais, the leader of the Reformed National Party [HNP], says that the government is to blame for the series of bomb blasts in the country. He says that this type of action is to be expected because the government has made it clear that there will not be another white election. Mr. Marais says he has a great deal of understanding for actions of this nature. He maintains that the government's attitude has led to the tendency to act outside the democratic process.

A spokesman for the Conservative Party [CP] says that the CP has no links with the so-called Wit Wolwe [White Wolves] or with the Boer Republican Army. He said the party still rejects violence.

Report on Visa Talks With Zimbabwe Denied

*MB2312142291 Johannesburg SABA in English
1401 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 23 SABA—South Africa's Department of Internal Affairs on Monday [23 December] denied reports that South Africa and Zimbabwe were busy negotiating the relaxing of visa requirements, SABC radio news reported. Earlier, SABA reported that Zimbabwean and South African officials were negotiating the possible lifting of visa requirements to promote tourism between the two countries.

Angola**Multiparty Talks Postponed to Jan**

MB2112201191 Luanda ANGOP in French 1940 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Luanda, 21 Dec (ANGOP)—The multiparty meeting, which was scheduled initially for December, has been postponed to the first two weeks of January 1992 due to technical reasons.

A communique issued by the Office of the President of the Republic and received by our newsroom on 21 December, says that the postponement also is due to the Christmas and New Year celebrations.

The meeting, which will be attended by government and opposition forces, will discuss changes to the Constitution and all aspects relating to the electoral process within the framework of the Bicesse Accords.

So far, 20 parties have agreed to participate in the multiparty meeting announced two weeks ago by President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola has refused to take part, but says it is ready to respect the head of state's initiative.

UNITA Releases 135 Prisoners of War 20 Dec

MB2112112091 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] In Jamba on 20 December, 135 former prisoners of war were handed over to a delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola [RPA]. Of those, 131 returned to Luanda. The remaining four will return to Luanda once their health improves.

One of the prisoners, who left for Luanda yesterday, asked National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] officials to arrange for the return of his wife once she delivers a baby within the next few days. That woman brings to 136 the number of people UNITA handed over to the RPA Government yesterday.

Those people had been interviewed by the International Committee of the Red Cross. It will be recalled that UNITA held 3,000 prisoners of war.

Savimbi: UNITA Holds No Government Prisoners

MB2112115591 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], said in Luanda on 20 December that UNITA is no longer holding government prisoners of war. Dr. Savimbi said that UNITA has released 3,000 prisoners,

and most of them opted to remain in UNITA areas because they have started families there.

Dr. Savimbi expressed doubts about the government's claims that there were no UNITA militants in the Ministry of State Security's [Minse] jails because only about 500 prisoners have been released. At a meeting held in Luanda early in December, the UNITA Political Commission concluded that at least 30,000 Angolans were in Minse dungeons.

Also yesterday, Dr. Savimbi met with Archbishop Alexandre do Nascimento to whom he conveyed a message of peace on the occasion of the Christmas and New Year festivities. Savimbi said: We have assured the cardinal that there will never be war. That is my stand, and I will continue to say so.

Cardinal do Nascimento said his meeting with Dr. Savimbi was very useful because it dealt with peace. Reacting to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' invitation to the Catholic Church to take part in the multiparty meeting, Cardinal do Nascimento said that it was not a task of the church to play a direct (?political) role.

At the end of the meeting, Cardinal Do Nascimento wished through the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel a happy Christmas to Angolans at home and abroad.

Dr. Savimbi yesterday toured Radio Nacional de Angola studios in Luanda to convey a Christmas message to the Angolan nation.

MPLA Chief Speaks on UNITA-Held Prisoners

MB2312093891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Marcolino Moco, secretary general of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA], has said that his party will remain committed to dialogue with other Angolan political forces. Marcolino Moco was speaking at a news conference in Huambo on the occasion of his visit to that province:

[Begin Moco recording] I believe that you have been following our party's activities. The activities have been very intense and marked by openness. In fact, we have urged people to realize that our party has a new outlook.

It is correct to say that at one stage we were the only party allowed in the country, but in view of domestic and international changes we realized that one cannot have democracy without openness, and that others should not be left out. As a matter of fact, we have played a fundamental role in these changes. [end recording]

The MPLA secretary general said that he was worried about obstacles to the movement of people and goods, and over the fact that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] was still holding prisoners of war and of conscience:

[Begin Moco recording] We have the problem of the free movement of people and goods. If we all agree that peace is irreversible, we cannot understand why prisoners are still being held in detention. We include in that category those who have been deprived of freedom in Jamba and in other parts of Angola. When it comes to UNITA militants held in detention, one cannot dismiss this as a domestic problem of UNITA. The question of freedom and human rights cannot be seen as the domestic problem of any party. This is an issue that concerns everyone. [end recording]

Troops Demand Pay; Halt Luanda-Lobito Traffic

*MB2112091691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Traffic on the Luanda-Lobito road has been disrupted since yesterday by People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] soldiers confined to the Culango assembly points. The 3,000 or so FAPLA soldiers are demanding payment of salaries in arrears for three years. They say they will only allow the resumption of traffic on that route once salaries are paid. Vehicles are being stopped at the assembly points and most passengers have opted to walk the 150 kilometers to Lobito.

A source with the Joint Verification and Control Commission [CMVF] said that negotiations are under way to calm the troops, who have threatened to take violent action. A UN Angola Verification Mission and CMVF delegation has tried to normalize the situation, but to no avail.

Troops in Menongue Demand Demobilization

*MB2112202791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] About 7,000 People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola soldiers at assembly points in Menongue have demanded that the demobilization program should begin as the formation of a single army gets underway. Our correspondent Freitas Manuel reports from Namibe:

[Begin Manuel recording] Political circles in Menongue have deplored the soldiers' conduct who, for lack of food and recreational facilities, consume produce from peasant farms near the (Massongo) assembly point.

During the recent provincial People's Assembly session deputies of Cuito Cuanavale District complained about the weak logistical supply to the government forces stationed in that location. This has led the soldiers to consume the residents' produce.

The parliamentarians also reported that the Cuito Cuanavale hospital has been closed for over six months now due to the shortage of medicines. The provincial assembly approved a resolution calling on the relevant authorities to take urgent measures.

Meanwhile, the Cuito Cuanavale residents are being attended to at the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's field hospital, and those in a critical condition are taken to Jamba. [end recording]

FAPLA Chief Comments on Troop Confinement

*MB2312093391 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 22 Dec 91*

[Text] The General Staffs of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, and Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, will meet in Luanda this week to discuss issues relating to the demobilization of personnel from the two sides. This was announced in Lobito city by Lieutenant General Alberto Correia Neto, FAPLA chief of staff, who, on the occasion, revealed that between 85 and 90 percent of FAPLA soldiers are already in assembly areas.

Discussing the confinement of government forces, Alberto Correia Neto said the idea of 100 percent confinement is not viable.

[Begin Neto Recording] We think that almost every soldier will be confined to an assembly point by the end of 1991. Obviously, there is an issue which you should take into account. From a practical point of view it is not possible to have 100 percent confinement because there are certain units which cannot necessarily be confined to assembly points. For example, the military hospital or the central logistics base. One cannot confine to assembly points those who are rendering medical assistance, or ensuring the supply of basic commodities to confined troops. So, the question of confining troops must be looked at in the proper perspective. [end recording]

As part of his visit to Uige Province, Lt. Gen. Neto yesterday toured Huambo city where he held talks with military officers in the province. During the meeting, Lt. Gen. Neto expressed his concern over delays in the disarming of mines throughout the country. He said that the operation is being hindered by [words indistinct] bridges linking other parts of the country.

Savimbi Addresses Viana Rally 21 Dec

MB2212110091 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Speech by Jonas Maiheiro Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, at a rally in Viana, near Luanda, on 21 December—recorded]

[Excerpt] We are happy to be with you here today. First of all, we are here on a routine visit. Then we want to visit all committees and all areas. We have also come here to show you that, though our means are limited, we are interested in your problems.

We began by opening a clinic in Quilamba-Quiaxe ward but people were still asking for water. Today, we have brought to Quilamba-Quiaxe that white cistern that you see over there. Moreover, we have brought the other cistern, the red cistern, to Viana. [applause]

We have said before that we should all cooperate to clean up our city of Luanda. Let us wipe out this mess! Let us make every effort toward that end, but not just by listening and delivering speeches. There is work we can do so that we can all enjoy healthier and more dignified lives. There is all the more reason for doing that work because Luanda was once Africa's loveliest city. [applause]

I would like to insist upon two things: First, why does the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, not want to hear anything about war? There are some movements that claim we are on the verge of war and that the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, will engage in a renewed war. We are telling you: No and never! [applause]

Peace is in the interest of everybody. Peace interests the politicians, the children, the women, and all citizens. There can be no democracy without peace. In the past, there have been those who said that they fought for and defended the Angolan people but they fled when the Cubans invaded our fatherland. Today, they do not have the courage to talk about the war. Today, they say: There is going to be a war, there is going to be a war!

Where there was real war, though, and it was necessary to [words indistinct] those who were in the cities left for the [word indistinct] they stayed here. They did not resist. They did not have the guts. The Angolan people need a courageous leadership that can behave responsibly when the time comes. [applause]

Every UNITA militant and sympathizer must work to strengthen the message of peace. They must stress peace today, tomorrow, and forever. Peace, peace, and peace! We want the peace that has come to us after 31 May to stay with us for good! [applause]

I have also heard some say that UNITA does not want to take part in the multiparty conference. We do not want to participate in it because the most important thing at the moment is to strengthen the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM. It is the CCPM that guarantees peace! It is the CCPM that is opening the path to democracy. There will be no peace without the CCPM and without the CCPM there can be no elections! Everything that dwarfs the CCPM will weaken us and weaken peace too.

Those who prophesy that there will be war are the same people who are asking for a sovereign national conference. Sovereignty is with the people! (?Elections) must be held [words indistinct] sovereignty is with you! Political parties must obtain their power from the people, not from a sovereign national conference! [applause]

We come here to wish you all a happy first Christmas in a climate of peace after the 16-year war. We want every home and every heart to enjoy a really merry Christmas! [applause]

There is no longer any need to be afraid. I heard the first secretary for the area of Viana deliver a speech in which he said that there are Ministry of State Security, Minse, agents going around. We must be brave: The work of the Minse agents is over! Minse has failed! [applause, crowd shouts slogans]

We have also said on several occasions that we have come to Luanda on our own merit. We have arrived here by our own means, on our own feet, and using our own heads. We are not here because of the Clemency Law or the Harmonization Policy. We said: Menongue is the point of departure and Luanda will be the point of arrival. Have we or have we not made it here? [crowd responds: "Yes!"]

We have made it here to stay. [applause]

Minse intimidation will not prevent the people from voting against those who governed poorly. The people will vote against them because they were allies of the Cubans they brought out here. Above all, the Angolan people will vote against them because they were unable to govern our country. [applause, crowd shouts: "Long live the government elected by the people!"]

Also, when voting time comes in September of next year...[changes thought] the president of the Republic has now solemnly stated on three occasions that there will be elections in September 1992. We want elections to be held in September 1992. Nothing, absolutely nothing, can delay elections! Elections must be held in September 1992! [applause]

The country is completely ravaged. Luanda, the capital city, is all broken up. The country is in a shambles: There is no water, no electricity, no jobs, and no living conditions!

It is necessary that for other sons of Angola, those who want to know more about the people's suffering and to try and solve their problems, to think (?about ways to improve) governance. We have had enough of mistakes and incompetence! [applause]

There is much contradiction. It is often said that the country is poorly governed only because of the war. At other times, incompetence is blamed. I think that the truth is that there has been much incompetence.

When there is a minor problem, like the one in Lobito recently, UNITA Secretary General Alicerces and Information Minister Valentim went there to talk to the people. There were also honest people on the part of the government and we found a solution. Houses were given to our representatives and the appeal became extensive to all, instead of only to an elite. [applause]

Wherever there are problems, we have the means to find a solution for them. We have been able to resolve this country's biggest problem: The war! We have managed to end the war and we have opened the path to peace! [applause]

The truth must be reflected forever. It must never change its color or content. What the government wanted, what it described as pacification, was sending Savimbi into exile! I was born in this land, grew up in this land, and fought for the independence of this land! Is exile a solution? [crowd responds: "Never!"]

We believe that Angola should never have laws allowing its citizens to be exiled. Even the current government should not have such laws! When the current government loses the elections in 1992, we will not exile anybody! Everyone will stay here in this land! [applause]

Am I talking from exile here in Viana? Is this exile? [crowd responds: "No!"]

So, the government's program has backfired. [applause]

The government only wished to talk with certain UNITA elements, not with UNITA proper. Nevertheless, the peace talks in Portugal were held with UNITA as a whole, and the UNITA team was led by our vice president. He is here with us. [applause]

The government also prescribed integration. Why is there no integration? UNITA continues to be UNITA and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, MPLA-PT, continues to be the MPLA-PT. There is no integration. The Angolan Government failed. [applause]

We are now forming the new Angolan Armed Forces. There is no integration. In other words, the exile plans failed, the integration plans failed, and the Clemency Law failed. We wanted a UN-guaranteed cease-fire. The government did not want that. Tell me, though: Is the United Nations not here now? [crowd responds: "Yes, it is here!"]

UNITA has won yet again! [applause]

Long live UNITA!

We need to look toward Africa because we are Africans! Those who have come here from other areas in the north and in the central plateau must know they are home at here! Nobody is entitled to say that only people from Luanda can live in Luanda. This is the capital. Our country is our land and it belongs to all of us! [applause]

There has also been some anti-UNITA propaganda that UNITA only likes blacks and dislikes other races. Just look about you. Just see who is here. Come forward! Come forward! [applause] [passage omitted]

Savimbi, UNITA Delegation Arrive in Huambo
*MB2312200091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Report on interview with Dr. Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, by unidentified reporters in Huambo city on 23 December—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Dr. Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], is in Huambo on a private visit, though it is known that he will address a rally. UNITA's official day is marked on 25 December.

Speaking to newsmen on his arrival in the city of Huambo today, Dr. Jonas Savimbi said he was confident that his party would win the 1992 elections. He added that his party is very popular in all provinces, including in the city of Luanda.

[Savimbi] "Yes, we have a lot of support even in the city of Luanda. We are not talking about the areas outside Luanda.

[Reporter] "So, you expect to win the elections?

[Savimbi] "Absolutely. The journalists and I are convinced of that."

Turning to the aid he has been receiving from the United States, President Jonas Savimbi said that he expects to receive an additional \$45 million over the next few days although some congressmen are opposed to it.

[Savimbi] "The Congress consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Whenever a bill is placed before congressmen there are always those who oppose it. That is democracy, but this does not mean that the aid pledged by the United States to UNITA will be compromised. The United States will even give us an additional \$45 million early in 1992."

Discussing the various emerging political parties, the UNITA leader said:

[Savimbi] "Those parties have described themselves as emerging parties. As such, we will give them the opportunity to emerge. We agree that they need some time to emerge, and that there should not be only two parties."

The UNITA leader arrived in Huambo this afternoon at the head of an important party delegation which includes Vice President Engineer Jeremias Chitunda. They will spend the festive season with relatives and friends. Tomorrow, Jonas Savimbi will chair a mass rally in the city of Huambo.

UNITA, Civilians Assail Government Delegation
MB2112120591 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] A Huila Province government delegation has been intercepted by National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] elements while traveling to Quilengues. Headed by Jose Sitanda, deputy provincial governor responsible for social affairs, the delegation was intercepted by three UNITA soldiers wearing uniforms, two of them armed, after it crossed the bridge over the Massange River. The delegation was afterward confronted by residents carrying various objects and led by the aforementioned UNITA soldiers.

Once the delegation's vehicles were stopped, the crowd assaulted the occupants. Five members of the delegation, including three policemen, a government representative in the local branch of the Joint Verification and Control Commission, and a UN Angola Verification Mission-2 member, were seriously wounded. The latter were promptly rescued and have been taken to the city of Lubango's hospital.

Following the attack, UNITA elements fired shots into the air. Two vehicles were damaged, and the windshield of the vehicle carrying the deputy provincial governor was broken.

Cabinda Tightens Security Due to Rebel Threats

MB2312202491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] The Government of Cabinda Province has tightened security measures in view of the threats made by the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [FLEC] to shoot down Angolan and Portuguese civilian aircraft. Governor Augusto Tomas said an attack on aircraft is a terrorist deed, and the authorities will not allow FLEC's threats to materialize.

[Begin Tomas recording] The government has decided to take measures aimed at guaranteeing the protection and security of aircraft and residents. [end recording]

Augusto Tomas made it clear that there is no reason for [words indistinct] because everything is under control.

[Begin Tomas recording] The (?situation) in Cabinda Province is perfectly under control. We have not had any abnormal problems in Cabinda Province's political or military situation. [end recording]

*** UNITA Reveals Position on Foreign Investment**

92P40077A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
23 Nov 91 p C2

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] defined foreign investment as one of the priorities of its economic policy during the period preceding next year's election in Angola.

In an orientation document made available to EXPRESSO, "foreigners who are thinking about investing in Angola" are urged to distinguish between two types of projects: "those which are economically viable and independent of the development strategy and the resulting policy of tax and financial incentives which the UNITA government will implement following elections; and investments whose profits could be significantly affected by reform measures applied to prices, the exchange rate, the banking and financial system, privatizations, foreign trade liberalization, foreign investments, technology transfer, and the labor market."

The movement led by Jonas Savimbi recognizes that "foreign capital and 'know-how' have an important role to play in reconstruction and in sustained economic growth," and that Angola cannot, at this time, acquire "on her own, sufficient capital or investment in infrastructure to respond to every need."

The UNITA document reveals that "in principle, foreign investors will have equal access to all sectors of the economy open to domestic private investment," stressing that "the investor's interests will be actively encouraged in the areas of agriculture and food production, fishing, mining, petroleum and petrochemical activities, energy, transport, communication, and other sectors of the manufacturing industry as well as services such as banking and retail or wholesale business."

Reevaluation of Benefits

Despite affirming that "all rights and benefits guaranteed by the present government will be reevaluated by the new government taking over in 1992," UNITA favors offering trade and banking guarantees, loans at advantageous rates and interest reductions, the creation of a specialized credit institution, and the study of a new tax system.

The document adds that "UNITA is unequivocally committed to establishing a market economy propelled by private initiative in which the role of the state is limited to providing essential infrastructure and public services (defense, law and order, administration of justice, education, and health services) and to correcting distortions in the market."

The Angolan movement is also determined to launch "an extensive privatization program, managed in a responsible and gradual way so that all economic activities currently in state hands will be transferred to the private sector."

Malawi

Banda Appoints Acting Natural Resources Minister

MB2112193391 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] His excellency the life president, Ngwazi [Paramount] Dr. Kamuzu Banda, has appointed the minister

of labor, Honorable Wadson Deleza, to act as minister of forestry and natural resources. Announcing this in Lilongwe, the spokesman for the National Headquarters of the Malawi Congress Party said the appointment, which is with effect from the 15th of this month, will remain in force until further notice.

Mozambique

Further on Government-Renamo Peace Talks in Rome

Truce Differences 'Still Persist'

MB2112090591 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo in Portuguese 0500 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The Mozambican peace talks between the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] and the government continue in Rome. They are centered on the possibility of introducing an extended truce. The latter was supposed to be declared on 20 December and remain in force until 20 January 1992, but differences still persist between Renamo and the government.

It will be recalled that on 18 December, sources with the Italian mediators, expressed optimism and suggested that a communique would be issued on that day. The Italian optimism was based on Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama's statements about the establishment of peace by the end of December.

Renamo chief negotiator Raul Manuel Domingos said that an extended truce required safety measures to supervise its implementation. He noted that Renamo was the first to propose a truce, adding that the latter could either benefit or undermine the negotiations.

Turning to the electoral law, Raul Domingos stressed that the two sides began discussing the issue in a good mood, though a final agreement could only be reached at the 10th round of talks scheduled for January 1992.

On 19 December, the mediators held separate meetings with both delegations, setting a plenary session for 20 December. This could be the last session of the current round of talks, though Christmas is around the corner.

Talks Ends Without Christmas Truce

MB2112112491 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The ninth round of peace talks in Rome between the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] ended last night without any agreement on a truce over the Christmas period. The government had proposed a month-long truce to last from 20 December to 20 January.

Despite all the promises made by Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama during his visit to Lisbon in November that the war would be over by Christmas, the Renamo delegation refused to sign any truce. Their excuse was, according to delegation head Raul Domingos, that they

wanted firm mechanisms to guarantee the implementation of any cessation in hostilities.

The brief joint communique issued in Rome last night said that the two sides had reached consensus on certain points relating to future multiparty elections in Mozambique. The two delegations agreed that general elections should be held within a year of the signing of a general peace agreement. The communique also said that presidential and parliamentary elections should be held simultaneously, and that the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the OAU, should be involved in supervising the process.

The Friday communique said that a new round of talks should begin on 15 January.

Chissano Sees 'Significant Progress'

MB2312172791 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1100 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] The president of Mozambique, Mr. Joaquim Chissano, says significant progress has been achieved at the Rome peace talks between the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement and the government. He was addressing newsmen in Maputo and he said his government wanted peace in Mozambique and the end of violence in the country.

Renamo Announces 'Unilateral' Truce

MB2412142291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Text] The Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, has announced a unilateral Christmas truce which came into effect yesterday and will last until 26 December. Renamo says that during this period, it will not carry out operations and will only fight if attacked.

It will be recalled that a proposal for a 30-day truce, which was supposed to come into effect on 20 December, was rejected by Renamo during the Rome peace talks.

Dhlakama News Conference on Renamo Congress

MB2212185291 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo in Portuguese 1500 GMT 22 Dec 91

[News conference by Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, with unidentified Voz da Renamo reporters, in Gorongosa on 21 December—recorded]

[Text] [Dhlakama] Ladies and gentlemen, I think that we will be chatting during this news conference. I would like to begin by talking about what happened during our second congress [word indistinct]. I think it was a useful congress because the talks were open. The delegates to the congress discussed all the points on our agenda. As you know, before beginning the congress we discussed the agenda of the congress for several weeks, and the

agenda was approved. So, during the proceedings of the congress, the provincial and district delegates, as well as our representatives abroad, invited guests, traditional leaders, church leaders, student association representatives, and other figures.

I think we did very significant work because we were able to discuss our party's strategic problems, as well as several issues, including the upcoming peace. Our talks focused on peace talks being held in Rome. In fact, the delegates debated that issue at length. We arrived at the conclusion that we should concentrate our efforts to attain peace through the Rome peace talks. This means that, though we have an army that is well organized, equipped, and motivated, we should put aside our strategy of attacking and occupying Maputo as a solution to end this 15-year war.

I think this was very important because the congress decided that the peace talks are the only solution, the only way to attain real peace, democracy, freedom, and justice, as well as to achieve a peace that will guarantee all human rights to the Mozambican people. During the congress, we also discussed our approach to the much discussed end of the war. An end to the war would mean the return of refugees currently spread over Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Tanzania, as well as the return of war-displaced people, including people who were born in Sofala Province but who are now in Manica Province, or people originally from Tete Province who are now in Zambezia Province, and other people who have had to move because of the war.

The delegates to the congress decided that priority should be given to the return of all refugees as soon as Renamo and the Maputo government have signed a cease-fire accord. The concept of the communal villages should be promptly done away with. This is to guarantee full freedom of movement to the people, so that they can come back to their homes. This is intended to end the so-called safe conducts. It would be very difficult to prepare elections as long as people continued to be in concentration camps or prisons. To my mind, the communal village is undoubtedly little other than a prison. A communal village is a home with closed doors watched by armed militia. People can only leave the village with a safe conduct. Thus, the delegates to the second congress have decided that we should abolish the communal villages as a way to guarantee full freedom of movement to the people.

That is true. It is also known that we are talking. We have talked about and focused on the issue of elections. To us, peace and democracy are two things that can only be confirmed with elections in our country. They will lead to a regime that can govern the country. That regime will emerge from free and democratic elections. That will show the Mozambican people that their country is within sight of democracy. To that end, the delegates to the congress discussed the issue of war in Mozambique and concluded that, because of the war, it will not be easy

to hold elections. They cost a lot of money and other countries must help offset those costs.

I think that it will not be easy work, with such a big country, with a number of rivers dividing the north, center, and south, and with the communication routes all extensively damaged. The delegates (?discussed) ways to speed up and facilitate that work. The delegates decided that the presidential election should be held simultaneously with the election for the members of the People's Assembly. In other words, elections must be held simultaneously: The president and the members of the Assembly must be elected at the same time. They would free legislative elections. We think that it is very good to announce that so and so has won the presidential elections and, at the same time, he has secured a certain number of seats in the Assembly. This should be resolved at once because it is very difficult to hold two elections at the same time. [sentence as heard]

I would like to say that the delegates decided on that. I would like to say that I think it was a good decision. I believe it is in the interest of the people of Mozambique.

There is also much talk about economic rehabilitation, economic rehabilitation, economic destruction, famine, and donors. The Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, regime has been seeking aid from countries such as the United States, France, Germany, and Portugal. Those countries have put up millions of dollars to finance certain investments and projects. Well, we have analyzed Mozambique's economic situation and we have seen that [words indistinct] that it would be very difficult in the future. The delegates decided to call on the Frelimo government to put an end this to kind of behavior, thereby avoiding the distribution of land. The government to come out of future elections could have problems because of that. It is well known that if the Democratic Party for the Liberation of Mozambique, Padelimo, the Mozambican Nationalist Movement, Monamo, or Renamo, or the National Convention Party, PNC, should win the elections, there would be difficulties implementing the Economic Rehabilitation Program because all the land had been given to foreigners. We believe these are ploys by the Frelimo regime. In view of that, Renamo hereby calls on Frelimo to put an end to that sort of behavior.

We have also arrived at a situation in Mozambique.-[pauses, changes thought] through this war, we have forced the Frelimo regime to negotiate with us. Thus, there is the need for Renamo to try to improve the information provided to other countries. The other countries need to be properly informed about Renamo. Many countries, including the United States, the USSR, Portugal, France, Germany, and Canada continue to receive AIM propaganda. That propaganda only depicts Renamo killing civilians, cutting ears off, raping women, and so forth. The media in Mozambique is in the hands of the state and of the Frelimo Party. Thus, there is much disinformation about Renamo and the world lacks information about Mozambique's real situation. To that end,

Renamo must be able to provide better information so that other countries know exactly what Renamo wants. They must know more about what is happening in the country. If one civilian has been killed, who killed him? If there is famine somewhere, why?

The delegates to the congress discussed this issue and found that Renamo must be able to provide better information to other countries. Much was also said about the effects of the war. There has been destruction. I would not mention the destruction of bridges or homes. To me, a bridge means nothing. A factory that is built by man and is destroyed, that is nothing. I would say that there has been the destruction of human lives. It is impossible to calculate how many thousands of people died during the war. We discussed all this during the congress. We have tried to establish who is responsible for all this. We, the Mozambican people, keep asking: Why is there war? President Chissano is a Mozambican. Samora Machel was a Mozambican. Messrs. Matsinhe, Armando Guebuza, and all the others, even those whites, like Veloso, Vieira, and Marcelino dos Santos, all of them say they are Mozambicans. Why is there a war?

In the course of our analysis, we found that Frelimo had imported Marxism from the Soviet Union in 1975 to impose it upon the Mozambican people. We found that this has been a war against the Marxism that has been imposed on the Mozambican people.

We would like to know: Why? Why with our brothers? Could it be that the Mozambican people did not show their dissatisfaction immediately after independence? They did. We witnessed the events at the Maputo Harbor and railroads. We saw an attempted coup d'etat in Maputo in December 1975, a bare six months after independence. Shots were exchanged.

Shots could be heard at the military barracks in Maputo. Those people who wanted to overthrow the government within six months of our independence there were guerrillas who had begun the struggle in Cabo Delgado Province in 1964. Why was that? Because they saw that, after all, they had fought for nothing. After 10 years of suffering in the bush with bombs dropped by Portuguese colonialism, just to allow 15 people to sit in Maputo powerful enough to enslave 15 million others. The delegates to the congress discussed that matter and concluded that Frelimo should be condemned for bringing about the war. Then, the people organized Renamo and a popular revolt against the Frelimo regime had begun.

Furthermore, Renamo did not take long to ask Frelimo to begin talks. Renamo wanted to hold talks with Frelimo already in 1982. It must be said, though, that at the time President Samora Machel refused to hold talks. He even called those Mozambican bishops who acted as mediators between Renamo and Frelimo in 1982 dogs, monkeys, and warthogs. Many people witnessed that.

Samora Machel swore he would never talk with the bandits. His opinion was that the bandits had to be finished off by force. In fact, he promised to eliminate

Renamo and certainly tried to do so. To that end, he borrowed military forces from Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, the USSR, Cuba, North Korea, the PRC, and many others. Aircraft, helicopters, Antonov's, tanks, and armored cars. They called experts from the world over whose speciality was to kill. They came here to try and eliminate Renamo.

Unfortunately for them, all those foreign forces were put out of action. Renamo beat them. The result of that is as follows: The Frelimo regime has agreed to hold peace talks with us, but only after thousands upon thousands of our people had been killed.

Our question is: Why did Frelimo not agree to talk to us in 1982? Perhaps we would have lost 15 people in this war. We would not have needed to talk about massacres, damaged bridges, destroyed factories, and ravaged roads. We would not have needed to talk about all this. Nonetheless, we have arrived at this juncture only because Frelimo did not want multipartyism in Mozambique, did not want Mozambique to enjoy freedom, and did not want the Mozambican people to have their human rights guaranteed. This explains why we have found that Frelimo should be condemned for its behavior. It is true that Frelimo tries to cover up by blaming it all on the war, but it was Frelimo itself that brought Marxism into the country. It makes no sense when Chissano says: Oh, well, I do not know what Dhlakama wants. I have already changed. Come. Things have changed. Why was it necessary for him to be at war for 15 years before changing?

Chissano visited Vila Paiva in 1989. He asked the local people: Where did Dhlakama study multipartyism? Where did Dhlakama study this and that? He went on an electoral campaign around the provinces. He went around with a group of ambassadors and he kept telling them: Look, dear ambassadors, my people do not want multipartyism! Dhlakama has had it! He came here to Vila Paiva, in Gorongosa District, right here, to ask the people of Gorongosa if they supported Dhlakama and his multipartyism policy. He used to say: Dhlakama wants three or four parties here. Dhlakama wants Parliament to include people from various parties elected by the people. Do you want this? The people were even asked: Do you want Dhlakama or do you want me? I remember that this was in October or November 1989. I do not forget that. I have got Chissano's recording in which he swore then that he would never accept multipartyism because it would mean the division of ethnic groups, thereby promoting tribalism. This was his justification.

He went to Beira city. He went to insult Beira residents and he went so far as to say: Where is [Archbishop] Dom Jaime? You here in Beira, you see Dhlakama as your son. Do you want multipartyism?

The people were too scared. They replied: No! Chissano then began saying: Long live this day! Dhlakama is condemned in Beira, here in Sofala Province, for the first time!

I think that was child talk. Yet, it is the same Chissano who says: Come over, Dhlakama. I have done everything. How come if he condemned multipartyism? How will Chissano achieve multipartyism and invite Dhlakama to lecture me on multiparty politics? I am the real originator of multipartyism in this country. The Mozambican people know that Dhlakama and Renamo were the originators of multipartyism, both here in Mozambique and in Africa at large. We emerged demanding multipartyism. All other African countries were standing by one-party systems. They rejected multipartyism, alleging that it would promote tribalism and enhance ethnic divisions. Thus, we have concluded that Frelimo must be condemned for, for it played with the fate of the people, defending Marxism, people were killed, they are killing people in the communal villages, and they are taking Mozambican people and placing them in their military garrisons.

When our forces attack the Frelimo garrisons, they kill Frelimo soldiers, capture Frelimo war materiel, destroy tanks, armored cars, and BTR vehicles, and capture many tonnes of Soviet-made cannons. We have that war materiel and newsmen have seen it. Frelimo has never, however, mentioned that.

What does Frelimo do? When Renamo leaves, it carries that war materiel to its bases. The Frelimo forces return to their garrison. Because the people have seen Frelimo take a beating, they kill those people. Then, they proceed to call the newsmen around, show them the corpses, and generally make it look as though Renamo is to blame. We feel that Frelimo should be condemned for behaving in that manner.

The congress decided this because we have to be frank and sincere. We must point out the reasons for the war. We must point out who is responsible for all this. The delegates to the congress also found that, though we are holding peace talks with Frelimo and there is much talk about peace, many neighboring southern African countries are still keeping their troops here. The Zimbabweans are still here. The Tanzanians are still here. The Malawians are in Nacala. (At least) the Zambians are not seen here anymore, but those countries that no longer have troops here are still signing security accords with the Frelimo. They have been doing so up to now. I would like to ask: What is the aim of those security accords? To kill somebody? To capture somebody? Are there other secrets that the Zambians, Malawians, South Africans, Zimbabweans, and Tanzanians can take up with Chissano? We suspect that those people, those neighbors, are talking in two different languages, one for peace, and the other for military intervention. They are trying to force Renamo to accept Frelimo's conditions. I know why they are trying to do that. We have never declared war on our neighbors. We used to go into Zimbabwe and attack because Zimbabwean troops are here. They are still here. We have stopped our attacks on Zimbabwe to see how far Mugabe's good will would stretch.

Should Mugabe not stop his ploys, and should he fail to concentrate his men along the Beira and Limpopo Corridors as required under the terms of the Rome Accord, then he can be certain that our forces will reply by resuming their attacks on Zimbabwe. What we would like to make clear, though, is that Renamo is not an enemy of those countries. Renamo is not even an enemy of Chissano. Renamo is, however, against a Marxist military dictatorship that denies human rights, democracy, freedom, and justice to the Mozambican people. That was precisely what caused the Mozambican people to take up arms. Now, all the foreigners think that once the dictatorship has been toppled here, our country might become a threat to our neighbors. We do not care whether Malawi stays on the way it is now. We do not care whether South Africa stays as it is. It is not up to Renamo to decide what political systems the Malawians, Zimbabweans, and Tanzanians must have. Why do they attacks us? Why do they kill our people? Why do they want the Mozambican people to remain under the yoke of a Marxist system that has generally been rejected throughout the globe?

In view of the above, the delegates to the congress have decided to call on the neighbors to put an end to their military intervention policies aimed at destroying Renamo, or forcing Renamo to accept Frelimo-imposed conditions.

These were some of the more important decisions.

We also found that it was necessary to restructure certain things. We have restructured our study department. Its chief is Manuel Franque, who is no longer our Lisbon representative. This means that the congress has decided that Manuel Franque, who was our delegate in Lisbon, the Portuguese capital, must no longer be the Renamo representative there. Instead, he must lead the study department. We are now discussing who should be Manuel Franque's replacement in Portugal. Manuel Franque will, however, continue to be responsible for the Lisbon branch until a new official has replaced him.

The Renamo president has also been reelected. We have a system whereby we elect. In view of the fact that we demand democracy, what would be President Dhlakama's credibility if he were leading Renamo by force? No, the truth is that there have always been elections ever since we embarked on our struggle. There were elections in our first 1989 congress. The president of Renamo was reelected by a massive vote at the congress that closed last week. Thousands upon thousands of people took part in the congress and they all voted for me. In fact, I was sworn in as president and given the powers to lead Renamo. This is a great responsibility because there is much to be done. We have to be determined. The war continues and there are still many ploys taking place behind the scenes. We believe that our brothers in Frelimo do not really know what we are doing in Rome. What I mean by this is that we still have

great responsibilities in this struggle for peace, democracy, and freedom. I would like to say that those were resolutions. Many points came under discussion at the congress.

Thus, to summarize, I would like to say that some decisions have been made and I would like the reporters here to ask their questions now.

[Reporter] Mr. President: In concrete terms, what happened with the ninth round of the Rome peace talks?

[Dhlakama] To reply to your question, our delegation was there. As far as I know, they are supposed to have left Rome and to be on their way back today, 21 December. In principle, that round was intended to lead to the signing of Protocol Three, which concerns the principles of the Electoral Law. Obviously, it involves very complex issues. We did not get around to signing that protocol because it is very complicated. Also, Renamo and Frelimo still have many differences regarding that protocol. Nonetheless, according to the report I have received from our team, some points were taken from Protocol Three and put in a document they called joint communique. Thus, there is no doubt [words indistinct] our decisions at the second congress. I was very happy because our team was able to convince our brothers on the Frelimo side to accept that presidential and parliamentary elections be held simultaneously. In other words, the president and the members of the Assembly would be elected at the same time. Thus, there has been agreement regarding that point. I am very happy because the second congress had decided on that. Something else also made me very happy: The United Nations and the OAU will participate in the supervision of the whole Mozambique electoral process. This is extremely important. Those are international mechanisms capable of issuing regulations, setting discipline, and of guaranteeing to Frelimo, Renamo, and the other parties that they will take part in the elections.

There is another important point mentioned in the joint communique. If I am not mistaken, it has been said that the peace talks would continue next year. I was told that talks would resume on 15 January of next year. Certain points that were not discussed, will be discussed then, all within the framework of the same Protocol Three. Those talks will also deal with military matters, guarantees, and Frelimo's constitution. That constitution must be revised. Before we sign the cease-fire accord, we must indicate which of its articles and laws must be suspended. Why must we do this? Because a country is called a country when it has a constitution. The constitution is a mechanism to regularize the politics of a regime. Thus, the constitution enshrines all the powers enjoyed by President Chissano, the Assembly of the Republic, the People's National Security Service, Snasp, and the People's Police, PPM.

Thus, it is up to Renamo to point out certain articles that it perceives as dangerous to any electoral process in our

country. Discussions about the cease-fire will undoubtedly follow this and that will mark the end of the Mozambican civil war.

I was replying to your question. The other item that was not mentioned in the joint communique was the intended 14-day Christmas truce. As you reporters must know, I visited Portugal for a month. I would have had much pleasure then to announce a 17-day truce. What happened was that Frelimo realized this and already wanted a 30-day truce, just to (?interrupt). What is more, it was quite dangerous. Frelimo's behavior has always been wrong and bad. You know that there are Zimbabwean troops around. We have learned that the Zimbabwean forces were using Frelimo uniforms to mislead the Mozambican people. Together with the Frelimo troops, they were already preparing to take advantage of the truce. As you know, our forces control certain areas. Renamo controls some 85 percent of Mozambican territory. Hundreds upon hundreds of districts and various provinces fall under the zones administrated by Renamo.

With that truce, the Zimbabweans and Frelimo wanted to move vehicles such as tanks to go and reoccupy the Gorongosa area. They have already concentrated everything in their Chimoio camp and the Beira Corridor. Their aim is to attack Vila Paiva. They also wanted to try and reoccupy the capital of Sofala Province's Maringue District. We have also had reports that Zimbabwean troops are in Tete city. The Zimbabweans and Frelimo wanted to move vehicles such as armored cars to strengthen their presence in Macossa District, Manica Province. We have also reports that in Dondo, there are more than 700 Frelimo soldiers and some Zimbabwean troops with combat vehicles ready to move forward and retake the positions of Semacueza, Muanza, Inhaminga, Inhemitanga, Condoe, all along the railroad linking Beira and the town of Sena.

In addition to a column in Inchope that is now trying to move toward Manica to try to reoccupy the capitals of Dombe and Maquina, and even Gogoi. There are other Zimbabwean forces that have been moved in boats up to the capital of Buzi District, from where they would march overland to try and reoccupy Muchungue, in Sofala Province's Chibabava District.

This is concrete information. We know where those military concentrations are. They began concentrating forces just two weeks ago, after we had said we would give the aforementioned truce. Thus, our truce was precisely intended to help Mozambicans enjoy their 25 December in peace, without any fighting. I am a Christian and a Catholic. Thus, Christmas is very important to me. Unfortunately, we were prevented from implementing what we had (?promised). This a serious problem: Frelimo prevented Renamo from observing its truce and tried to reoccupy positions. Renamo saw it would be blamed, because Renamo would reply to attack those columns. Chissano would then approach the international community and say: Look, Renamo is not living

up to its promises. Thus, we found that the best alternative was not to enter into any truce like the ones prior to this year. Renamo will not attack as of 24 December. We will only shoot when the Zimbabwean troops provoke us.

[Reporter] Your Excellency Mr. President: Can you tell us when the next round of talks will be held and what important points it will focus on?

[Dhlakama] I have spoken much about this, already. I think talks will resume on or around 15 January of next year. There are many issues to be discussed. As you know, there is an agenda to be followed at the talks. First, they will discuss more points contained in Protocol Three. Those are principles of the Electoral Law that have not been agreed on, even though some points of Protocol Three were agreed upon during the ninth round of the peace talks. The discussion of many of those points was adjourned to the next round of talks. They are many, many points. As you know, the principles of the Electoral Law are akin to a foundation for the holding of elections in our country. We will have to discuss the modalities of the elections themselves. That implies the presence of the United Nations. It implies that, similarly to what is taking place in Angola, the political and military commission formed by Renamo, Frelimo, and other governments must have effective authority. I think that there are still many, many issues to be discussed under Protocol Three. Those are the principles that will govern the Electoral Law.

Then, military issues will come under discussion, in other words, the formation of a single army in Mozambique.

The army that is currently in existence...[pauses, changes thought] I do not even know why Frelimo calls its forces the Mozambique Armed Forces. There is no such thing as the Mozambique Armed Forces, but there are the Frelimo Party armed forces. You cannot call the political military. In other words, the Frelimo forces are political forces. They are political because all its generals are Frelimo Party members.

That is so much so that, in order for one to be a commander, major, or corporal one must be a good communist, a good Marxist in the service of the Frelimo Party. This explains why we see Frelimo commit massacres and acts of revenge, as well as treat people quite badly. The Frelimo army is not a national army. It is not an army to defend the people's interests. It is an army to defend Frelimo's interests. That means that any person who opposes the Marxist system is automatically regarded as an enemy of Frelimo and [words indistinct] killing women, children, and any other person because they know that all Mozambican people are opposed to the Marxist system. (If you are not a Marxist), they will kill you.

Thus, Renamo wants to put an end to that whole thing. We want to do away with it. We want there to be a national army. We have some troops. We are guerrilla

forces. Renamo will select a reasonable number of soldiers from its guerrilla ranks. They must be physically sound and capable of following instructions [words indistinct] and Frelimo will do the same. That will lead to the national army, which will depend neither on Renamo, nor on Frelimo, nor on any other party.

This means that discussions on military affairs are to be held at some point.

Thereafter, we will discuss the issue of guarantees. By guarantees, we mean [words indistinct] Frelimo is to destroy Renamo and other parties, to kill any freedom, and to trample, murder, and execute people. Thus, we want an accord on guarantees, including constitutional guarantees. In other words, Renamo will be able to point out certain sections of the Frelimo constitution that need be abolished or suspended because the Frelimo constitution poses obstacles to us. We cannot accept it in its entirety. What would happen after we had signed a cease-fire accord? Renamo would shout in Maputo, long live Renamo. Frelimo would say no. It would say: You are against the Constitution because Article Six of such and such chapter says you cannot do that, and you must go to jail. That would be sad. We would be forced to return to the jungle [words indistinct] to avoid that sort of thing, there must be an accord on certain Frelimo articles. They are a threat to the electoral process. Then, we will discuss the famous cease-fire so that we can end this 15-year war.

At that stage, we will undoubtedly [words indistinct] Comrade Chissano and I will be together (?both as adversaries) and brothers. We have been apart for 15 years.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Government Forces Destroy Renamo Base in Gaza *MB2312163791 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Mozambican troops have destroyed the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels' central base in the southern Province of Gaza, according to a report in today's issue of the Maputo paper NOTICIAS. A spokesman for the Armed Forces General Staff told the paper that the base was overrun on Tuesday [17 December] last week at Merrungane in the District of Guija. In the base, troops recovered two motorcycles and a car that had been stolen during one of Renamo's raids against the town of Chibuto, where the provincial military command is stationed.

The spokesman made no mention of any casualties suffered either by Renamo or by attacking troops. The destruction of the Merrungane base did not stop Renamo from attacking the town of Guija itself two days later, on Thursday [19 December]. There was a shoot-out in the town that lasted for six hours. Five rebels were killed in this clash. Renamo killed four civilians in the raid and wounded two others.

Chissano, Mugabe Hold Talks in Beira 23 Dec

*MB2312110791 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Presidents Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe have been meeting in the Beira city since this morning. The aim of the meeting is to exchange views on the evolution of Mozambique's peace process.

Speaking to reporters in Beira, Joaquim Chissano said that there was not a concrete agenda for the talks with his Zimbabwean counterpart. He admitted, however, that in addition to evaluating the peace process, they will discuss the political and economic situation in the two countries.

The talks will review defense issues relating to the Beira and Limpopo corridors which are covered by the partial cease-fire accord signed in Rome between the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance.

Chissano Briefs Media

*MB2312153791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1353 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Beira Dec 23 SAPA—Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe on Monday [23 December] arrived in the Mozambican port city of Beira for one-day talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, reports Zimbabwe's ZIANA national news agency from here. Briefing journalists before the talks, Mr Chissano noted that Zimbabwe was as keen to see peace in his country as the Mozambicans.

He said Zimbabwe was cooperating with his country in the defence field, especially in guarding vital trade corridors. Mr Chissano said his government had not asked Zimbabwe to reduce its troop presence in Mozambique, but if the issue came up, it would be considered. "Zimbabwe is cooperating in the defence of the country, especially in the corridors. Zimbabwe is also an important economic partner, so we felt we should meet," said Mr Chissano.

He said he would brief Mr Mugabe on the latest developments concerning the peace talks between his government and the rebel Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement, as well as exchange information about the situation in their respective countries.

Mr Chissano said he had spoken to Mr Mugabe over the phone when both men realised that despite exchanging information through their various delegations, they had not met for a long time.

Mr Mugabe, who jetted into Beira international airport in the morning, was met by Mr Chissano and several Mozambican Government ministers.

Bilateral Issues Discussed

*MB2312180291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe met in the city of Beira today to discuss bilateral issues. Speaking to Beira port and railroad workers, Chissano said:

[Begin Chissano recording] We have come here to review the ongoing Rome talks. We noted that the talks are moving too slowly, although a number of positive steps have been taken. We have already signed two protocols. It was not possible to sign those protocols at the last round of talks due to reasons extraneous to our government [sentence as heard]

It was not possible for us to start the round of talks on time because of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]. We began a bit late. Renamo had logistical problems which prevented its delegation from arriving on time. Nevertheless, we did something. There was no time to sign another protocol.

We have not yet discussed military issues that form part of the agenda. We discussed the principles of an electoral law which we will draft. This law will state how elections should be held. It is not a question of the law being approved in Rome. The law will be approved by our Assembly of the Republic, though the principles of the law need to be discussed. We are discussing those principles, and it should not be difficult for us to come to an agreement with Renamo.

I think that we will reach an agreement on those principles with any other parties likely to be established. There are still no political parties. What we have is groups of individuals wanting to form parties. There are nuclei of parties and the latter will be established once they have been registered, and abide by the law. So far, no party has been registered. They must register. [end recording]

No communique has been issued on the talks between Chissano and Robert Mugabe, his Zimbabwean counterpart. The Zimbabwean president has already left Beira for his country.

Reportage on Zambian President's Visit

Arrives 21 Dec

*MB2112121791 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] Zambian President Frederick Chiluba arrived in the Mozambican capital today. He said it was a fantastic opportunity to visit Mozambique for the first time since he was sworn-in as head of state on 2 November.

Speaking to newsmen upon his arrival in Maputo, the Zambian president said he wanted to know his Mozambican counterpart better in the context of increased bilateral cooperation. Frederick Chiluba said the fraternal links continue.

The former trade union leader led the Movement for Multiparty Democracy to victory in Zambia's general elections, defeating Kenneth Kaunda who ruled for 27 years.

Frederick Chiluba is accompanied by his wife and Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga. He was welcomed by President Joaquim Chissano, government officials, and members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Maputo.

During his two-day stay in Mozambique, the Zambian president will hold official talks with the Mozambican authorities, and will tour the port of Maputo. On 22 December, Chiluba will attend a church service.

Talks With Chissano

MB2112191991 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] In Maputo today, Zambian President Frederick Chiluba praised his Mozambican counterpart Joaquim Chissano for the fact that he is fighting for peace, and not for victory, in the armed conflict between his government and the Mozambique National Resistance. He was speaking this afternoon at the start of official talks between the Mozambican and Zambian delegations led by Chissano, and Chiluba respectively.

Chiluba congratulated Chissano for his clear position in the resolution of his country's problems. The Zambian leader said: I believe that the Mozambican people will benefit from what you have been doing since you became president.

Today, the Zambian president began a two-day visit to Mozambique which is aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation relations between the two countries. Also today, President Chiluba toured the Maputo port. Tomorrow, he is scheduled to attend a service at the Methodist Church.

Zambian Role in Peace Noted

MB2112194791 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] In Maputo this evening, President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano said that Zambia has been playing an important part in the Mozambican peace process. The Mozambican head of state was speaking at a banquet given in honor of his counterpart Frederick Chiluba who began a visit to Mozambique today.

Joaquim Chissano added: Today, as in the past, we count on Zambia's assistance in our efforts to search for peace, in national reconstruction, and in the normalization of life in the country.

Ends Visit, Departs

MB2212204691 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1800 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba pledged today that cooperation between his country and Mozambique would continue, and that their friendship would grow. President Chiluba was speaking at the end of a two-day visit to Mozambique, during which he had talks with President Joaquim Chissano.

Speaking at Maputo airport this afternoon, the Zambian leader expressed his support for President Chissano's efforts to end the war in Mozambique through dialogue at the peace talks in Rome.

Earlier, Mr. Chiluba said the new Zambian Government hoped to work with the Mozambican Government in consolidating mutual help among the peoples of the region.

President Chissano said Mozambique had closely observed the democratic process that brought Mr. Chiluba to power in Zambia, and that the Mozambican Government hoped to maintain the links that had always bound the two peoples together.

Mr. Chiluba's visit was one of a number he is making to countries in the region to familiarize himself, meeting leaders who, for more than 20 years had been working with his predecessor Kenneth Kaunda. During his visit to Mozambique, apart from holding talks, Mr. Chiluba visited the port of Maputo, and the Pequenos Libombos dam, west of the capital.

Opposition's Simango Outlines PCN Principles

MB2112192491 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1800 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Interview with Lutero Simango, National Convention Party coordinator for international relations, by Radio Mozambique reporter Langton Chirenje; place and date not given, from the "Outlook Africa" program;—recorded]

[Text] The National Convention Party of Mozambique [PCN] on Tuesday [18 December] ended a two-day founding conference in Maputo. The party is one of about a dozen which have emerged since a multiparty constitution was approved in Mozambique a year ago.

To hear more about the party's conference, Radio Maputo's reporter Langton Chirenje spoke to Lutero Simango, the organization's coordinator for international relations.

[Simango] The main objective of our party is to try to participate in a constructive way in order to develop our country in such a way that all the social parts of the life of the people can be satisfied. As you know, we are a country with many, many problems. So, the National

Convention Party is (?appearing) with a new proposal for the development of the country.

[Chirenje] What kind of proposals is the National Convention Party of Mozambique making?

[Simango] First of all, the proposals concern about the national constitution of the Republic. We do not agree with the constitution because it's full of ideology principles. We prefer a constitution that guarantees the different powers of the country, and also we have a proposal for the economy of the country concerned about the policy that the (?banks) should carry on, and also concerned about the free market itself because we believe that in Mozambique we need national, strong enterprises in order to be able to defend the national economy. So, these are the main proposals that my party has for a multiparty system in Mozambique.

[Chirenje] How is the National Convention Party of Mozambique going to defend the national economy?

[Simango] First of all we must understand that in Mozambique we do not have any tradition concerned of the free market. So, the state itself must play a certain positive role in helping that the small business people may become in future the enterprises of our economy. And on top of that the state itself also might defend the interests of the national enterprises. On top of that we must try to use in a better way the international capital that is involved in the national reconstruction of the country.

[Chirenje] How many members do you have in all the provinces?

[Simango] To answer your question I can say that according to the law that exists to register the political parties, we as the National Convention Party, we can satisfy the conditions.

Swaziland

Pudemo Leader Urges Lifting of State of Emergency

MB2412081591 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER
in English 24 Dec 91 p 1

[Report by Nkosingiphile Ziyane: "'Let State of Emergency Go'"]

[Text] The self-exiled People's United Democratic Movement (Pudemo) leader, Mr Jabulane Matsebula, has added his voice in calling upon the government to uplift the State of Emergency and withdraw "all repressive legislation."

This call came barely two weeks after a meeting organised by the Human Rights Association of Swaziland (Humaras) heard a similar call by controversial Member of Parliament, Mr Philip Dzingalive Dlamini.

In a letter written on Pudemo letterhead and copied to, among others, the "Speaker of the Swazi Parliament", all

diplomatic missions in the country, various mass organisations and the Press, Mr Matsebula states that Pudemo is concerned that the government "has not been moved an inch by the tide of change experienced by our beloved continent."

By no means a stranger to political controversy, Mr Matsebula gained notoriety in official circles when he was mentioned as being among those who participated in the end of the year 1989 Mawelawela picnic that landed some fellow revellers in the dock as the accused in the Pudemo treason trial. The accused in that trial were later found not guilty and acquitted by the High Court.

Although he fled the country before that trial, the State alleged that he was the leader of the Pudemo military wing. Also known as "Arafat", Mr Matsebula is believed to be living in Kenya.

His letter which is addressed to the King through the Prime Minister's Office, describes the Tinkhundla [traditional community councils] system of government as an undemocratic traditional establishment that lacks a mandate from the people.

"For this reason," he states, "it has therefore no business in the transitional process towards democracy and should just relinquish power to an interim government elected by the National Convention."

Mr Matsebula does not explain which National Convention he may be referring to.

But he explains that the repressive legislation includes assembly, freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of association and freedom of movement (with regard to passports), and political imprisonment."

Mr Matsebula attacks the Masitsela Committee and the government for viewing comments by pro-multi-party democracy speakers during the tour in a negative light.

"If the leaders of our nation are confident of their role," the letter says, "it is unclear why the committee and the government are always so sensitive to the comments made by others. Even if such comment is critical of government policies, there is nevertheless no justification for such hostility and arrogance on the part of the state."

He warns that the people of the country must not be taken for granted as they are capable "of reacting accordingly and resisting such aggression."

But he adds that in the long run resistance would have a serious impact upon the development process of the country.

"The change called for by the people of Swaziland is a global trend that is irreversible," he said. He urges the government to open talks with opposition forces so as to resolve the country's problems peacefully.

Zambia**Chiluba Returns Home From Frontline Tour 22 Dec**

MB2212221491 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] President Chiluba arrived back from Maputo this afternoon after completing his last leg of the tour of Frontline and neighboring states. [passage indistinct]

Foreign Minister on Developments in USSR

MB2212204191 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwangi has briefed [word indistinct] the situation of Soviet Union in [words indistinct]. He told ZNBC [Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation] in an interview on arrival from Maputo at Lusaka International Airport that the Zambian Government recognizes the developments taking place in the Soviet Union, and the Cabinet will meet this week to discuss the matters. He said the position of Zambia's ambassador to the Soviet Union is an important point of the [words indistinct], and will be made known as soon as possible.

And Soviet Union Ambassador to Zambia Eyzen Poch has said, he is awaiting instructions from Moscow on the new role the mission will play, following yesterday's formation of a Commonwealth by the former Soviet Union republics. And in an exclusive interview with ZNBC today, Ambassador Poch said that there is the possibility that the Soviet Union and Zambia will discuss the [words indistinct] Russian Republic [word indistinct] the largest of the Republics. Mr. Poch indicated that the Russian Republic might consider the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in a new state model in which people will live in (?a different) environment. He added that more information on the operation in Soviet missions in other countries and Zambia will be reviewed in the course of this week.

Zimbabwe**Mugabe Warns Central Committee on Corruption**

MB2112054491 Johannesburg SABA in English 2126 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Harare Dec 20 SABA—President Robert Mugabe on Friday [20 December] warned ZANU (PF) ZANU

[Zimbabwe African National Union] (Patriotic Front) leaders against amassing wealth by corrupt means, the ZIANA News Agency reports.

"While it is conceded that we have the right to secure ourselves and our families as much as possible in life, it is definitely not expected that we do so by dishonest or corrupt means nor in a manner that speaks of rampant greed or avaricious accumulation of property," Mr Mugabe told Central Committee members in Harare.

He said with the current land shortage, leaders would lose people's trust if they owned large chunks of land.

"In our situation of land shortage, for an individual leader to seek to own vast land properties, gives rise to all kinds of suspicion and even casts doubt on our honesty and sincerity in advocating equitable land distribution.

"Can we, therefore, afford to own, as individuals, vast farms where the vast numbers of people own no land at all or only a few acres. I hope we can pay attention to the common interest of our society and allow that interest to take precedence over our own individual interests," he said.

On the leadership code, which the day-long meeting was expected to modify, the president urged the Central Committee to come up with a code that was both realistic and implementable.

The old Leadership Code, noted the president, had turned into a "despicable piece of paper" and blatantly ignored by leaders who viewed it in relation to how it affected their individual interests and frustrated their aspirations and ambitions.

"It is common knowledge that members of the public have questioned how some among us have, after assuming posts in government, suddenly become vast property owners and high-ranking entrepreneurs, when only yesterday they were poor and unpropertied," said Mugabe.

"If we are to deserve the people's confidence, then we have to accept certain basic norms of behaviour as part of our code of conduct. That is what the Leadership Code is all about," he added.

Ghana

Foreign Secretary Appraises Past Foreign Policy

AB2212132091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 1300 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah, has expressed satisfaction at Ghana's foreign policy over the past 10 years. Giving an appraisal of Ghana's foreign policy over the decade in an interview with the GHANA NEWS AGENCY in Accra, he described it as an active one which made the country's voice heard on all major world issues, including the resolution of major conflicts around the world.

Dr. Asamoah said improvement in the country's economy enhanced its image. This is evidenced in Ghana's nomination to the UN Security Council and the selection of Mr. Kenneth Dadzie as secretary general of the UN Conference on Trade and Development. He said Ghana also played an important role in the Organization of African Unity, the Nonaligned Movement, and the Economic Community of West African States.

Despite these achievements, Dr. Asamoah regretted that Ghana has not been able to have closer economic and political integration within the subregion. But this, he explained, is due to a number of factors that combined to undermine Ghana's objectives. For example, he said, Ghana and Togo really should have been the closest of countries, but they have not been able to achieve this. He said for one reason or the other, there is always some problem that crops [up] in their relations which prevents Ghana from achieving the kind of interaction and close links with her neighbors. Dr. Asamoah hoped this would happen in future.

The foreign secretary also regretted that the rate of economic integration within the subregion is very slow in the light of developments elsewhere in the world.

Guinea-Bissau

Opposition Holds First Public Rally

AB2212161591 Paris AFP in English 1514 GMT
22 Dec 91

[Text] Bissau, Dec 22 (AFP)—Guinea-Bissau's single legal opposition party, the Democratic Front (FD), held its first public rally on Saturday [21 December] with a challenge to the ruling PAIGC [African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde].

Inaugurating its headquarters in Bissau, FD leader Aristides Menezes accused the leftist regime of almost 18 years of corruption, lies, and "forgetting the people" since independence from Portugal.

The rally was attended by some 5,000 people of the small West African state, including leaders of still unrecognized opposition parties, who accuse the government of

President Joao Bernardo Vieira of manipulating the process of transition to democracy.

Legalised on November 18, the Democratic Front has social-democratic policies and wants a government of national unity.

Liberia

Taylor Denies Obstructing Peace Process

AB2112193591 Paris AFP in French 1744 GMT
21 Dec 91

[Text] Monrovia, 21 Dec (AFP)—Yesterday evening, Charles Taylor, rebel leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), said that Liberian peace process set in motion by the Yamoussoukro accord "was on course" and rejected accusations that he was deliberately obstructing the encampment and disarmament of his troops. His statement, broadcast in Monrovia by the radio controlled by the rebels, came a few hours after that of Liberia's interim President Amos Sawyer, according to whom Taylor "is holding back the peace process" in order to prolong the conflict "for gainful ends." "Those who have nothing to discuss think that the process is being obstructed, but we are discussing vital issues that must be settled before the full implementation of the peace accord," Mr. Taylor said. One of these issues, according to him, is patrolling the borders. "We want to patrol the borders jointly with ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], the West African peacekeeping force, he said.

The Yamoussoukro accord provides for general elections within six months, provided that there is a conducive climate before 15 January to enable the organization of voting. Thus far, the roads are still closed and the NPFL militiamen have neither encamped nor disarmed. According to the radio, Mr. Taylor indicated that the NPFL had fixed 10 spots where the ECOMOG troops could be positioned but did not specify which areas these were.

Mali

'Armed Men' Attack Ansongo; Three Killed

AB2312164591 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] In connection with the situation in the north, the secretary of state for internal security informs the general public that on the night of 23 December, about 30 armed men on vehicles attacked the town of Ansongo between 1145 and 0115 GMT. Two guards and a civilian were killed, while two other guards and a civilian were injured.

This is obviously an act perpetrated by isolated groups with the aim of hindering the peace process initiated at Mopti by the Government of the Republic of Mali and

the Unified Fronts and Movements [of Azawad]. The secretary of state for internal security therefore calls on the population and the Army to remain faithful to the ideals of peace and to show restraint in the face of these new acts of provocation.

Senegal

Government Communique Condemns Killings

AB2312210591 Dakar Chaine Nationale in French
1900 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Government communique issued in Dakar on 23 December]

[Text] Mr. Mamadou Cisse, member of the National Assembly, and (Malam Djedje), a rural counselor of Gnassa, were slaughtered by a group of unidentified people on 22 December at 1530 near Joey village in Ziguinchor Region. At the time of the incident, Deputy Mamadou Cisse was on his way to attend the ceremony for a teacher newly posted to the village elementary school.

The government pays tribute to the memory of Deputy Mamadou Cisse and the rural counselor, (Malam Djedje), and condemns this highly ignoble act because the victims were on official business and Deputy Mamadou Cisse was known by all to be a man fiercely opposed to all violence. The government underscores its desire to guarantee the safety of people and goods in Ziguinchor Region and maintains its decision to respect, for its part, the accord signed on 30 May 1991 in Bissau by the government and the representatives of the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance.

Togo

Soldiers Force Radio To Broadcast Communique

Armed Forces Communique

AB2312222091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 1933 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Communique issued by the Togolese Armed Forces in Lome on 23 December]

[Text] Since its independence, our country has gone through several stages in its evolution. And as events may follow each other but may not be the same, the current stage comprises serious elements that are full of risks that must be recalled to the Togolese people of Lome, but also to the Togolese of the interior who are wondering and no longer understand what is happening in the land of our forefathers.

Togolese people, our sisters, our brothers, indeed since the launching of the democratic process in our country,

we have had to participate in our own way, in silence, resignation, and in particular, by accepting denigration and humiliation.

First of all, the liberalization of the media has made it possible for new private media houses to spring up. Instead of these media participating in training and informing the people to prepare them for the true and salutary democratic game of our young nation, our written media have indulged in disinformation, defamation, denunciation, and especially in inciting political and tribal hatred, and more seriously, in poisoning minds in the ranks of the Army and the law-enforcement bodies.

In our country, an explosion of acts of violence and provocation broke out among the ethnic groups on the one hand, and between the civilian Togolese and Togolese military personnel on the other hand. The deliberate choice of violence as political expression runs through all the strata while the law-enforcement and security forces and the Togolese Armed Forces [FAT] saw themselves, in humiliation and denigration, as being prevented from doing their work. The state's authority was trodden underfoot in the face of civil disobedience organized against a background of insecurity established by the militia who were set up and maintained by certain political parties. After several weeks of negotiations, clashes, and deaths, the much-awaited national conference was held. Instead of being a true meeting for constructive debate, dialogue, and objective analysis of our political and socioeconomic problems, the Togolese people looked with helplessness and disillusionment on a forum of merrymaking, lies, denigration, frame-up, defamation, and disinformation. The consequence of this is the deep division of the Togolese people in the place of the much-hoped for and much-awaited great conciliation.

The artificial division of our people into so-called democrats on one side and anti-democrats on the other was aggravated by a serious and dangerous intolerance of other people for their ideas, their ethnic origin, and their political leaning. It must be stressed that the conference brought forth a feeling of spite and hatred toward the personnel of FAT and the law enforcement and security forces. They had become sub-humans, indeed the dregs of our society. It had become unbearable and intolerable. Worse still—because the future of our country is at stake here — the conference adopted the draft Constitution in a light-handed and irresponsible manner, in an environment of passion and in disdain for the elementary principles of a true democracy.

Instead of a veritable consensus expressed through an honest balloting, the Constitution, which is the fundamental law expected to regulate the critical transition period, was adopted with acclamation by a half-empty hall. This adoption was instigated and orchestrated by those extremist delegates who appointed themselves and represented only themselves and members of their families.

These people, who came from nowhere and who toyed with the destiny of our people, have all disappeared today, as if by magic, in the face of our country's serious problems, thus sheltering themselves from all dangers that can threaten those of us whose only fatherland is Togo, the land of our ancestors. All national and international jurists know it, all intellectually and morally honest politicians of this country know it, all the diplomats in our country have said it in private: This transitional fundamental law contains several dangerous and contradictory clauses and this will necessarily make the transition process very difficult and perilous.

With only two months of operation, the following facts could be noted: There is continued insecurity with increased crime and robbery. All the security forces activities have become inoperative. It is again the militia gangs of the political parties that are sowing terror in our towns and villages, thus preventing the peaceful rural and urban populations from going about their daily businesses with serenity. The state has become the property of the political parties, with each of them wanting to control its functioning through the famous High Council of the Republic [HCR].

How can one not be astonished by this deadlocked situation as the composition of this HCR, a legislative body, does not truly represent our population? Barely 40 percent of the membership of the HCR is made up of representatives from our prefectures. The remaining 60 percent is made up of people who appointed themselves on the basis of friendly or family associations and the political parties that were formed on the eve of the national conference and whose constituency has not been established. Such a distribution of seats is unacceptable. This is why the prime minister found it very difficult to form his first cabinet and consequently the right man was not always put in the right place.

For the first time since independence, Togo had its worst government. For just a 10-month transition period, people afforded themselves the luxury of reshuffling the entire administrative machinery and making unprecedented mean political calculations, as if the transition government and the HCR had become permanent organs of the Fourth Republic. Thus, all our ambassadors accredited overseas were recalled simply because they had been appointed by President Eyadema. We witnessed whimsical appointments of new prefects, not based on criteria of competence but in particular because the appointees were to represent the political parties for electoral purposes. We witnessed complacent and very frivolous appointments of board directors and general managers of state-owned companies. Some privileged parties have reaped the lion's share. We also witnessed ill-timed, arbitrary, and abusive postings affecting some civil servants for unavowed reasons that are mean and ethnically and politically motivated. It was a veritable witch-hunt that went contrary to the prime minister's noble declaration.

We have witnessed all kinds of acts of provocation and aggression against the FAT and the security forces, who are compelled to execute the instructions and not to answer back in humiliation. Civilians are also victims because they come from this or that region of Togo, because they belong to the Togolese People's Rally, because they occupied high posts under General Eyadema's regime, because they did not pay allegiance to certain political parties, or because they were not outspoken enough in insulting soldiers and former dignitaries during the failed national conference. What a missed opportunity for our people!

The FAT and the security forces wanted to maintain their neutrality but unfortunately, in the past weeks, with the escalation of arbitrary and provocative decisions, of violent confrontations—and this time with firearms—among civilians not only in Lome but also in the interior, and finally, of acts of vandalism, havoc, and looting, all leading the country towards irreversible chaos and perhaps dreaded civil war on the horizon, the FAT have decided to put a vigorous halt to the side-slippings of the transitional democratic process.

Our objective is neither to search for political power, nor to stop the current democratic process under way in our country. Whatever their political leanings, whatever their ethnic origins, the democracy that is being introduced into our country must take into consideration all our peoples without exception. We want the transition to make it possible for the people, exercising their full sovereignty, to freely choose, in civil peace and security, the men and women to govern our country through fair and transparent elections.

This is why we, the FAT, reaffirm our determination to ensure to all citizens without exception, their security, their freedom, and the continuation of their political and economic activity. We also reaffirm our determination to fight, by any means, all acts of tribal or political violence, all manner of insecurity from any quarter. We are demanding that press freedom not become insult, defamation, or instigation to political or tribal hatred; otherwise we will deal severely with it.

To allow for a good transition, based on a truly national consensus, we are demanding the dissolution of the HCR, which has demonstrated its political incapability, and which fled from its responsibilities at the difficult moments we experienced in our country.

We are demanding that a more restrictive body representing our various populations be established to play the role of a legislative body that is supposed to check the acts of the new transitional government. The creation of this new body can be done following a reconciliation and security roundtable to be initiated by the president of the Republic and the prime minister.

We are demanding that the creation of the new government, the appointment of prefects, the recall of ambassadors, the appointment of boards of directors and of

general managers, and the ill-timed and political postings be reviewed in order to ensure equity and appeasement with our people.

Long live the Togolese Armed Forces! Long Live new Togo!

Signed by the Togolese Armed Forces.

Soldiers Leave Radio Station

*AB2412085791 Paris AFP in French 0735 GMT
24 Dec 91*

[Text] Lome, 24 Dec (AFP)—Togolese soldiers who last night forced journalists of the Lome radio and television broadcasting house to broadcast a communique demanding the dissolution of the transitional National Assembly left the premises early this morning, a journalist told AFP.

The journalists refused to broadcast the text of the Togolese Armed Forces (FAT) communique calling for the dissolution of the High Council of the Republic (HCR, the transitional assembly) in their newscast again. These soldiers left the premises of the broadcasting house without incident, according to the journalist. This group of about 10 unidentified armed soldiers arrived last night around 1900 (local and GMT time) at the studio. The radio station broadcast their communique several times during the night. The television had broadcast the communique with archive footage of General Eyadema saluting soldiers at a parade.

The same communique had been broadcast on 22 December by the radio station. The scenario was almost the same: A few soldiers brought the text and insisted it be broadcast. But then a FAT officer burst into the radio station and seized the tape.

The dissolution of the HCR was the principal demand of the putschists who on 3 December besieged and raided the seat of government where Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh was taking refuge. Leaders of this forceful act—which left 43 dead, according to International Committee of the Red Cross—still remain unknown.

On 24 December, Mr. Koffigoh was due to present the program and the composition of his provisional government at a meeting of the HCR, the first since the rebellion. A member of the prime minister's entourage said that meeting could be compromised by this new action by these unidentified soldiers.

Curfew 'Temporarily Suspended' for Holidays

*AB2412111891 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 1100 GMT 24 Dec 91*

[Communique issued by the Togolese Armed Forces Headquarters in Lome on 24 December]

[Text] Because of the end-of-year festivities, and to enable people to move about freely, the curfew is temporarily suspended throughout the country beginning today. However, night patrols will be organized to ensure security for all.

END OF

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26 Dec 91

